

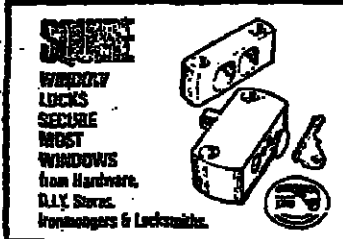


THE GUARDIAN

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Friday May 10 1985

25p



Thatcher rejects parliamentary supervision of security services

Tighter checks ordered for MI5

By Colin Brown, Political Staff

The Prime Minister yesterday announced the tightening of vetting procedures in the security services after the review of the Michael Bettaney MI5 spy case by the Security Commission. But she failed to quell concern in the Commons.

The leader of the Opposition, Mr Neil Kinnock, was strongly supported by other backbenchers in his demand for the security services to be brought under the supervision of a parliamentary body, possibly privy councillors, but this was flatly rejected by Mrs Thatcher.

She announced that an internal review of the management of MI5 was to be carried out by the Director General of MI5, Sir Anthony Duff. He will report to her and the Home Secretary, Mr Leon Brittan, this year. His conclusions will be reported to the Security Commission, which found management weaknesses in the security services.

Sir Anthony will also look into ways of making the Service more receptive to the expression of grievances or anxieties by its members.

Turn to back page, col. 4

South Africa widens chink in apartheid

From Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

South Africa yesterday announced a definite shift away from old-style apartheid, with draft legislation giving blacks a say at the second-tier level of government and further concessions over forced removals.

The Ministry of Co-operation, Development and Education issued a list of 82 black townships whose residents, it said, would not be removed as previously planned under apartheid. At least 700,000 blacks are affected.

The Regional Services Council Bill, published yesterday, makes provision for local authorities representing all races to sit on newly-created regional councils, giving blacks a share in control of a wide range of services.

The Black Sash—the civil rights organisation run by white women, which has sustained a highly hostile critique of the government's purported "reforms"—over recent years described the latest developments as "a fairly major step".

The draft legislation contrasts sharply with the law which provided for the establishment last year of the tri-racial parliament for whites, coloureds and Indians. That law specifically excluded blacks.

The influence of blacks on the regional councils will, however, be limited by their relative poverty, as well as by the sweeping powers allocated to provincial administrators by the State President.

Under the draft legislation, municipal authorities for whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks, will be represented on the regional councils in proportion to their contribution to the council's revenues.

As the impoverished black town councils have only minimal revenue-generating resources, they will certainly not be in a position to dominate the regional councils.

Moreover, the final say as to how many members each local council will have on the regional council will be determined by the administrator, who in turn will almost certainly be a white political ally of the state president.

Regional councils will administer so-called "hard services" such as water supplies, electricity and sewerage.

The theory is that these services are sufficiently "hard" or remote from intimate community concerns to make co-operation across colour lines possible even between, say, a Conservative-controlled white town and its dormitory coloured, Indian and black townships.

ANC tactics shift, page 8

Cabinet agrees deal to phase out Serps

By Ian Aitken, Political Editor

The State earnings-related pension scheme is to be phased out, it was agreed at yesterday's Cabinet meeting chaired by Mrs Thatcher.

The scheme, known in Whitehall as Serps, was introduced by the Labour government in the mid-1970s. It was endorsed by the Conservative Party with the understanding that it would take pensions out of political controversy up to the end of the century.

But the Cabinet agreed yesterday with the assessment of Mr Norman Fowler, the Social Services Secretary, that the cost of the scheme over the next two or three decades could be crippling to the economy.

A green paper will be published at the end of this month, proposing that it should be gradually phased out over a period of years and replaced by private pension schemes wherever possible.

The proposal was denounced by Mr Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader, who declared at Westminster that his party was launching a Save Serps Campaign.

A future Labour government would restore earnings-related pensions — "that commitment stands," he told lobby correspondents.

Mr Kinnock argued that the Cabinet switch from state undertakings to private schemes amounted to an attempt to "teach people to fly by chucking them off the Empire State Building."

There was no sense in the

Government urging people to enter occupational pension schemes, he added, since all too many people now lacked an occupation.

At yesterday's Cabinet meeting ministers were apparently faced with a decision between the Prime Minister, the Chancellor and Mr Fowler in private discussions earlier in the week.

The deal reflects the mounting anxiety of backbenchers as well as ministers over the proposal to abolish Serps — the centre-piece of Mr Fowler's

long-term review of the financing of the welfare state.

Many Conservatives are sensitive to the claim that the move represents a breach of faith with millions of people who have planned their lives on the basis that Serps would see them to their retirement years.

Some Tory MPs in marginal constituencies genuinely fear that the move could lose them their seats, and Labour spokesmen have claimed that it could put the Conservative Party out of office.

The green paper will also incorporate a broad series of amendments to the welfare state, including radical changes in child benefit, housing benefit and the abandonment of death grants, maternity grants and family income supplement.

The Government says that the proposals will be open to public debate before legislation.

But it was made clear last night that the Prime Minister does not visualise further cabinet discussions about the proposal to phase out Serps.

NEWS IN BRIEF

U-turn on state industry

MINISTERS have dropped plans to seek powers to tighten their control over nationalised industries. Back page.

Organist dies

REGINALD Dixon, the organist whose signature tune, Oh Lord, Like to be here, became a worldwide hit, died yesterday, aged 80.

Riot claim

PICKETS roamed streets around Orgreave coking plant, near Rotherham, throwing Molotov cocktails, the first day of the trial of 15 miners accused of rioting was held. Page 2.

Power parade

MORE THAN 10,000 troops appeared with new and second world war tanks yesterday in a display of power at the parade to celebrate VE-Day in Bangkok.

Sports chief

JOHN SMITH, chairman of Liverpool FC, had been appointed chairman of the Sports Council taking over from Dickie Jones, who resigned last week. John Reddy, page 24.

Poll looms

A BYELECTION will be held in Brecon and Radnor, mid-Wales, after the death of the Tory MP, Mr Tom Hosson. He had a majority of 3,784 at the last general election.

The weather

SHOWERS and sunny intervals. Details, back page.



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President Ronald Reagan (right) with Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Mrs. Reagan and Mr. George Bush at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, yesterday. Reagan four ends, page 6.

Power stations 'link' in Legionnaire cases

By David Henke, Social Services Correspondent

Department of Health officials last night started a check on power stations in Staffordshire as a possible source for the outbreak of Legionnaire's Disease which claimed another victim yesterday bringing the death toll to 32.

The checks were ordered after officials began doubting that the cooling towers at Staffordshire's 22 million new district general hospital were the source of the virus.

They had discovered that 11 of those who died had not been near the hospital, confounding statements made by Mr Kenneth Clarke, the health minister, that the local power station cooling towers could be connected with the outbreak.

The Central Electricity Generating Board declined to name the power station being investigated.

The department's statement came as hundreds of hospital cooling towers were being rechecked in a move to reassure the public.

All 14 English health authorities received reminder letters from officials at the Department of Health yesterday asking them to ensure that guidelines were being followed.

The guidelines issued in 1980 say that cooling tower condensers and humidifiers should be disinfected by chlorination, drained, inspected and cleaned twice a year, and when shut down cold water should be disinfected by chlorine pentoxide and hot water at 60 degrees.

At least three authorities — Mersey, Wessex and South-west Thames — have told their dis-

tricts that it would be prudent to re-check their systems.

In Mersey and South-west Thames longer lasting biocides are being used, contrary to present Department of Health advice that chlorination should be adequate.

In Mersey, shower heads are being disinfected once every three months and in South-west Thames some little-used shower facilities are being taken out of commission.

The North-west Thames also came out a check at its new 230 million district general hospital in Watford, Hertfordshire, which was being opened yesterday.

The latest victim, a woman in her early twenties, died yesterday in Stafford. Nine more people were admitted to hospital in Staffordshire showing symptoms of the disease, bringing the total thought to be suffering from the disease to 144, with 97 being treated in hospital.

The cases in Portsmouth and Bristol, where two people died, appear to be part of the 120 to 180 cases of the disease every year which are not connected to any outbreak.

Mr Richard Bishop, the unit administrator of Portsmouth's St Mary's Hospital, an old Victorian building with no cooling towers, is investigating shower facilities in a renal unit and has closed seven wards, moving out 120 patients. All the wards are being disinfected and chlorine is being added to the water supply, although hot water is stored at 50 degrees.

The Chesterfield Private Hospital, run by Nuffield Nursing Homes, a private hospital group, was "very unlikely indeed" to be a source of the disease, Dr Anthony Jephcott, director of the Bristol public health laboratory, said yesterday. Suspicion fell on the hospital after one of its relief nurses, Mrs Anne Chidgey, aged 64, died at Southmead Hospital in Bristol.

Politics, page 10

Third GLC defeat for ministers

By David Henke, Social Services Correspondent

THE Government suffered its third embarrassing defeat in a week last night in the Lords as the bill to abolish the Greater London and metropolitan county councils was rejected.

An all-party amendment led by the Tory peer Lord Cranbrook and backed by Labour was passed by a majority of four votes despite an appeal by the Environment Minister, Lord Elton, to reject it.

The vote will force 21 districts in the metropolitan areas and boroughs in London to set up joint bodies to oversee waste management.

The Government had wanted to reserve compulsory powers until September at least and to allow a voluntary arrangement to start in July.

Lord Elton said that the difference of two months on what might be seen as a technical matter could prove crucial to the bill. Opponents of the measure claimed last night that their strategy for replacing the abolished authorities with mini-metropolitan councils and a city-wide council for London had been given added impetus by the result.

The metropolitan authorities said they hoped to combine present waste management bodies with the new one to be set up under the bill and would demand that country-wide bodies should be elected. They and the GLC said that last night's result showed that the Lords accepted their argument for a strategic authority for London and county-wide authorities for metropolitan areas.

The Government faces another challenge on Monday, with an attempt to stop the break-up of the Inner London Education Authority under the bill. It is likely to stiffen its whipping arrangements over the weekend to avoid a further defeat.

Politics, page 10

Younger pledges £40m rates help to calm angry Scottish Tories

By James Naughtie and Jean Stoddart

The Scottish Secretary, Mr George Younger, yesterday promised £40 million to calm his angry commercial ratepayers and gave the Government's clearest commitment so far to rate reform before the next election.

Mr Younger's message, to a rebellious Scottish Tory Conference in Perth, will be echoed tonight by the Prime Minister, who will make rating reform one of the main themes in her traditional rallying speech.

Ministers have already concluded that it will be impossible to legislate for reform in the next parliamentary session. Mr Younger's announcement

therefore confirms that it is now Mrs Thatcher's intention to bring forward a bill for a new local government financing system in pre-election year.

The news yesterday that a bill was to be introduced next week to allow Mr Younger to alleviate the hardship caused by the rises in rates for about 50,000 small businessmen in Scotland did not, however, conceal the turmoil which has shaken the Scottish party.

Throughout the day's debates the Government was criticised for bungling and wrong-headedness in a manner seldom heard at such gatherings. Even after his announcement of a generous aid package Mr Younger's oration was notably muted.

Today, an activist group will be launched at the conference to improve the party's public relations and its organisation. Its leader, Mr Iain Lawson, told the conference yesterday that the Tories' performance in the West of Scotland was "an absolute shocking disgrace" — a sentiment loudly applauded.

His protests caught the mood of the conference and forced platform speakers to respond by welcoming efforts by activists to help the party.

The immediate problem is the sudden increase in rates but the result of revaluation, cuts in rate support grant and spending increases by some authorities.

But it was clear last night that the malaise runs much deeper. Senior party figures have seldom been subjected to such sustained criticism as they faced in Perth. Ministers were accused of being patronising and arrogant, party broadcasts of being superficial and dull, and one official from Aberdeen, Miss Nanette Milne, said she and her colleagues were heartily sick of being talked down to by ministers.

With unemployment in Scotland now averaging around 15 per cent, rates bills rising spectacularly and support dropping in opinion polls, ministers and party officials are being subjected to severe criticism. Accusations of complacency are rife.

It is accepted by Scottish Tory MPs that an early election would see them reduced to a running sick at Westminster.

Mr Ian Lang, the party's Scottish whip, reacted to the mood of the conference by supporting the new ginger group, despite earlier worries in the hierarchy that it would be a disruptive force. To that extent, the conference succeeded in getting its anger across to the platform.

Mr Younger defended revaluation of rates as a legal obligation and promised that the Government would not duck the issue of rate reform. He said a scheme would be produced by the end of the year and warned that it would be pointless then for factions to continue to argue over details.

The right is organising a campaign for a poll tax to replace the present system. But a majority of the Cabinet Turn to back page, col. 5

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Sunday shops get government backing

By Ian Aitken, Political Editor

Sunday trading is expected to be legalised before the end of the present parliament. Legislation will be introduced in the Commons next year, providing for longer shop hours as well as for Sunday opening.

This was approved by the Cabinet yesterday, and will be announced formally in the Commons by Mr Norman Tebbit, the Trade Secretary,

at the start of a debate on the report of the Auld committee on the future of the Shops Act. A government motion will endorse the recommendation for Sunday opening.

Although a substantial number of Labour MPs remain hostile to any attempt to dismantle the legislative controls on shop opening hours, arguing that such changes can only lead to exploitation of shop workers, the signs are that the Shadow Cabinet will not seek

a head-on confrontation with the Government on the issue.

Labour shadow ministers appear to have agreed that the Auld committee's recommendations accord broadly with public opinion and that it would be politically damaging to pit the Labour opposition officially against the change.

The opposition amendment to the Government motion therefore seems likely to concentrate on safeguards against the

exploitation of shop workers under the new dispensation.

One remaining anxiety, however, is shared between the Labour and Conservative benches. Some backbenchers fear that the legislation of Sunday trading could have a damaging effect on the vast network of family shops which have been trading on Sundays.

In defiance of the law, for many years.

If the change in the law

leads to the opening of the big supermarkets on Sundays such shops could be put out of business.

The argument is particularly influential with Tory MPs who endorse Mrs Thatcher's belief in small businesses. It would be a blow to the Prime Minister's case for an expansion of the small business sector if liberalisation of Sunday trading removed the economic basis for corner shops in favour of the supermarket chains.

Doctors demand lifting of ban on specialist

By Sarah Besley

A letter signed by 85 per cent of GPs in the Tower Hamlets district of East London was handed to the district health authority yesterday, demanding the reinstatement of a leading obstetrician, Mrs Wendy Savage, who has been suspended for alleged malpractice.

One of the GPs leading the protest, Dr Mary Edmondson, said at Steel's Lane health centre yesterday that 68 out of the district's 84 GPs had signed, and four more were on holiday.

She said: "This speaks volumes on the way in which Mrs Savage is regarded in this district, particularly since alleged malpractice is involved, which is a very serious complaint. Despite this, the doctors have had enough confidence in her to put their names to this letter."

The letter was read to a noisy meeting of the health authority last night. About 50 protesters, many of them women with babies, went to the meeting and demanded to know details of the five complaints against the consultant.

A further petition from medical students taught by Mrs Savage at The London Hospital, containing 149 signatures—about 75 per cent of those canvassed—was also read out. It expressed support for "an inspiring and conscientious teacher."

Letters signed by about 100 hospital staff, from the local branch of the National Childbirth Trust and from the Community Health Council—which demanded an inquiry into the obstetrician's gynaeology department at The London Hospital, where some of the complaints are thought to have originated—were also given to the committee.

The district health authority chairman, Mr Frank Cumberlege, told the meeting that the matter was sub judice pending an inquiry, which is the next step in medical disciplinary procedures.

The inquiry would be chaired by a QC appointed by the Department of Health, he said, sitting with two doctors from outside the area.

Mrs Savage, senior lecturer in obstetrics and gynaeology at The London Hospital medical school, was suspended last week. Doctors in Tower Hamlets said yesterday that only one of the complaints against her came from a patient concerned about a perinatal death. The other charges involve abortion.

The doctors are incensed about the suspension because they believe the dispute really stems from conflict within the hospital about Mrs Savage's enthusiasm for community projects.

Dr Edmondson said: "She virtually restarted, single-handed, domiciliary deliveries in Tower Hamlets, which is a deprived area. Like this is not easy. Mrs Savage also believes in minimum intervention by doctors in the birth, and allowing women to choose their own way to deliver."

Ironically, the GPs whose workloads were increased by her methods are solidly behind her.

The doctors say that Mrs Savage is the only woman consultant obstetrician at the hospital, and that many women, particularly from the Asian community, will be distressed at being attended by a man.

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Review for nursing and visitor services

By David Hencke, Social Services Correspondent

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Mrs Julia Cumberlege, Conservative chairman of East Sussex social services committee, will head the inquiry, which will include two management consultants and a member of the public.

Mr Clarke made the announcement in a written parliamentary answer to Mr David Knox, Conservative MP for Staffordshire Moorlands.

He said: "We have decided to take a fresh look at the role of nurses, midwives and health visitors working as part of primary health care teams and in

Orgreave 'targeted' by picketing miners

By Malcolm Pithers

The trial of 15 miners accused of rioting at the Orgreave coking plant near Rotherham began in Sheffield yesterday with the prosecution alleging there had been organised violence on an "appealing scale" with pickets manning the streets, demolishing lamp standards, making and throwing Molotov cocktails, building barricades and hurling bricks, stones and bottles at the police.

The men, from Scotland, South Wales, Co Durham, Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, denied charges of riotous assembly. Their trial is likely to last nearly a month.

This morning the judge, jury and barristers in the case will travel by coach from Sheffield crown court to view the site of the Orgreave plant where the court heard 8,000 demonstrators gathered on June 18 last year.

Yesterday Mr Brian Walsh, QC for the Crown, showed the all-male jury exhibits of pickaxes, a club, a metal tubular bar, ball bearings and spikes collected by the police at Orgreave.

He explained that the Orgreave plant, owned by the British Steel Corporation, was an important target for the pickets, because fuel supplies went to the steelworks at Scunthorpe.

In a lengthy preamble to the trial Mr Walsh expatiated on events leading up to the Orgreave picketing. He said that people would suggest that what they had intended was a peaceful attempt to persuade some lorry drivers not to collect coal and to leave the area.

He said that Orgreave became the focal point of the dispute between the miners and the NCB. It was obvious to Yorkshire miners, their leaders, "supporters" and "eggheads" that the inter-

ference with the ability of these men were there intended to take part in a riot. The law in this country says people must be permitted to go about mauling the streets, zipping their lawfully without being intimidated or brought to a halt by those who use not stones, bottles, from bars, and arguments or persuasion but using metal fencing as spears.

He told the jury that riots, as far as the trial was concerned, referred to three or

MINERS at Ireland Colliery near Chesterfield yesterday ended a 24-hour strike in protest at five Yorkshire face workers joining the pit. The NCB said there was a shortage of experienced local face workers.

more people gathering together who had a common purpose by using force to help each other against anyone who might oppose them.

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Airport halves Falklands transport costs

By Patrick Keatley, Diplomatic Correspondent

The opening of the new Mount Pleasant Airport in the Falkland Islands on Sunday will enable the RAF to slash out most of its refuelling over the south Atlantic. It will reduce the transport bill from its present annual level of \$60 million to around \$35 million.

Princess Andrew, already serving in the territory as a naval officer, will represent the Queen in performing the opening ceremony.

The second phase of the project to provide a cross-island runway and thus to make the airport operational for aircraft in all wind conditions is scheduled to be finished in mid-1986.

The precise timing and arrangements of this weekend's opening ceremony have not been announced in Whitehall, because the Argentine government has refused to announce the ending of hostilities since the Argentine invasion of 1982.

The Alfonso government in Buenos Aires has been neither invited to the airport opening nor notified of it.

Starting next week, RAF wide-bodied TriStars will take over the Falklands run from Brize Norton, via Ascension Island, where there will be a 90-minute refuelling stop instead of the previous overnight sleep and change of plane.

The inquiry would be chaired by a QC appointed by the Department of Health, he said, sitting with two doctors from outside the area.

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NUM may sue German bank

By Patrick Wintour, Labour Staff

The National Union of Mineworkers may take legal action against the German bank IKB of Dusseldorf. The union believes that the bank wrongly handed over \$4 million of its money earlier this year to the court-appointed receiver Mr Michael Arnold.

The money had been lodged with NCB's Finance, IKB's Luxembourg subsidiary, and the union contends that under Luxembourg banking law the money should not have been transferred without the union's permission.

Mr Arnold used the \$4 million as an indemnity against possible legal action against IKB by the union.

A spokesman for the receiver said last night that he had no knowledge of any pending legal action. Since the receiver was the trustee of the union's funds, the indemnity had in reality not been taken out by the receiver but by the NUM.

Any legal action against IKB, which rebounded on the receiver, would in the final resort, rebound upon the NUM's funds.

The union's delegates committee in Dublin has voted to reject a £250,000 offer sent about during the strike, in what was seen as a prelude to purging its contempt and reclaiming control of its funds. However, £27 million sent to Dublin remains in Ireland. This money is awaiting a ruling by the Dublin High Court as to whether it belongs to the NUM or the receiver.

The NUM executive yesterday deferred until next Tuesday a decision on what disciplinary action, if any, to take

Thousands of former striking miners may be able to claim benefits denied to their wives and children after a ruling by the Social Security Commissioners yesterday.

The commissioners have ruled that the Department of Health acted illegally by deducting benefits from striking miners' wives and children while they received leave from local authorities and social services departments.

The ruling followed a test case brought by Mr Alexander Haddock, from Cornshead, who was denied benefit for his family during a week when his local authority gave him a £150-a-week holiday allowance.

He lost his case at a social security tribunal last year but the commissioners have now overturned the tribunal's decision.

Mr Peter Heathfield, NUM general secretary, said that in the interests of natural justice further time was needed to study the transcript of the proceedings.

Mr Arthur Scargill, NUM president, was not at the meeting, since he was travelling to Hungary for a meeting of the miners' international federation. It is thought unlikely that he will attend next Tuesday's executive meeting.

The two men face various charges, some concerning the dismissal of the Nottinghamshire general secretary, Mr Henry Richardson. They are also accused of encouraging the Nottinghamshire area to change its union rules to make the area independent of the national union.

In the High Court last December the union failed to win an interim injunction preventing the area from going ahead with the changes. It is now expected that the issue will come to trial in June.

If the union won the case the area would have to drop the changes or voluntarily leave the union.

Mr Heathfield said yesterday that the executive was considering establishing an independent inquiry into the dismissal of more than 240 miners in Scotland and Kent after the end of the strike.

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NUM may sue German bank

By Patrick Wintour, Labour Staff

The National Union of Mineworkers may take legal action against the German bank IKB of Dusseldorf. The union believes that the bank wrongly handed over \$4 million of its money earlier this year to the court-appointed receiver Mr Michael Arnold.

The money had been lodged with NCB's Finance, IKB's Luxembourg subsidiary, and the union contends that under Luxembourg banking law the money should not have been transferred without the union's permission.

Mr Arnold used the \$4 million as an indemnity against possible legal action against IKB by the union.

A spokesman for the receiver said last night that he had no knowledge of any pending legal action. Since the receiver was the trustee of the union's funds, the indemnity had in reality not been taken out by the receiver but by the NUM.

Any legal action against IKB, which rebounded on the receiver, would in the final resort, rebound upon the NUM's funds.

The union's delegates committee in Dublin has voted to reject a £250,000 offer sent about during the strike, in what was seen as a prelude to purging its contempt and reclaiming control of its funds. However, £27 million sent to Dublin remains in Ireland. This money is awaiting a ruling by the Dublin High Court as to whether it belongs to the NUM or the receiver.

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The commissioners have ruled that the Department of Health acted illegally by deducting benefits from striking miners' wives and children while they received leave from local authorities and social services departments.

The ruling followed a test case brought by Mr Alexander Haddock, from Cornshead, who was denied benefit for his family during a week when his local authority gave him a £150-a-week holiday allowance.

He lost his case at a social security tribunal last year but the commissioners have now overturned the tribunal's decision.

Mr Peter Heathfield, NUM general secretary, said that in the interests of natural justice further time was needed to study the transcript of the proceedings.

Mr Arthur Scargill, NUM president, was not at the meeting, since he was travelling to Hungary for a meeting of the miners' international federation. It is thought unlikely that he will attend next Tuesday's executive meeting.

The two men face various charges, some concerning the dismissal of the Nottinghamshire general secretary, Mr Henry Richardson. They are also accused of encouraging the Nottinghamshire area to change its union rules to make the area independent of the national union.

In the High Court last December the union failed to win an interim injunction preventing the area from going ahead with the changes. It is now expected that the issue will come to trial in June.

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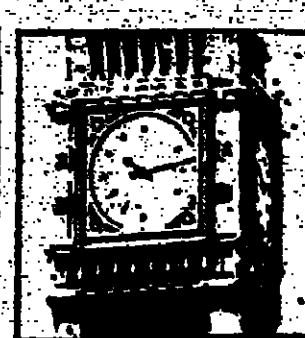
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David McKie

Bags of warp, not much whoof

HAD she picked up a bag in Room 2 Or was she apprehensive, perhaps, about the statement she was shortly to make on the failure of her security services to spot there was something odd about Michael Bettaney even as he staggered down the street, his pocket ablaze in a cumbersome pursuit of a swiftly disappearing stranger?

Or maybe there was something still more political about the change which seemed to have come



Getting a first-hand, and first-foot, impression of conditions in inner-city Bradford is Sir Richard O'Brien, who has been visiting several areas of urban deprivation as chairman of the Archbishop of Canterbury's commission on the Church's urban priorities. The commission's report is due to be published later in the year, and is expected to lead to a two-year programme of action. Sir Richard talked to local church and civic leaders, who told him that Bradford still had a densely populated inner city, and that there was a strong sense of local identity.

Picture by Dennis Thorpe

Judges to train in family matters

By Malcolm Dean

JUDGES who hear family and civil court cases are to receive training, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Hailsham, announced yesterday.

The move will be welcomed by family law reform groups, which have joined the Law Society in criticising the courts for inconsistent judgments on family cases over which the bench has wide discretion.

Judicial training programmes in Britain have lagged behind many other countries. Many judges believed they did not need training but residential seminars were introduced in the 1970s.

A Judicial Studies Board was set up in 1979 after a working party chaired by Lord Bridge produced a report on judicial training. The new three-day training seminars will concentrate on issues like access, custody and division of property in family proceedings and housing and debt in civil cases.

Last year, the Judicial Studies Board organised three such seminars for some 240 experienced crown court judges and recorders.

Training seminars in civil and family jurisdictions will begin next year. Officials at the Lord Chancellor's Department estimate that all 400 registrars, one-third of the 1,000 recorders and half the 375 circuit judges will attend the seminars.

Reform will reduce the numbers eligible

Means-testing is planned for home repair grants

By Geoff Andrews, Local Government Correspondent

The Government is planning a sweeping reform of housing improvement system to make many more homes eligible for grant — but only a fraction of their owners.

Through a system of means-testing designed to make sure that those who cannot afford vital repairs get the most assistance, and to do away with the present inequitable method, based on rateable value, the new grant system points to a sharp reduction in the number of people who will qualify.

Apart from the basic grants, the new system also proposes an interest-free loan system for repairs in which owner-occupiers will have to sign over part of the equity of their home to the local authority.

The house will be valued and the percentage of the grant calculated, so that as the value of the house appreciated, the council's share would increase. If, for example, the house doubled in value, the council would take back twice the amount in grant.

The system was criticised yesterday by housing organisations. The housing charity, Shac, said that it was a disappointing response to a good opportunity for reform and suggested that the conditions for the qualification looked to be just as arbitrary as the old rating system.

The director of the Insite of Housing, Mr Peter McGurk, said that the green paper outlining the possible changes was



Mr Ian Gow: giving nothing away

a clear signal that the Government intended to reduce spending. It would lead to a decline in the quality of housing.

The green paper is designed to launch legislation within the year which could lead to the new regulations coming into force in the autumn of next year.

It takes as its cornerstone the idea that owners are primarily responsible for their own repairs and improvements and seeks measures to involve the lending institutions in the building industry and encourage owners to help themselves.

To qualify for one of the new grants a house owner will have to undergo a means test, probably linked to a reformed housing benefit system.

What limits will be imposed before an owner loses out on the grants is still far from certain although figures of £30 a week and savings of £3,000 have been suggested as the top limits.

Mr Ian Gow, the Housing Minister, would give away nothing yesterday when he introduced the green paper, and although the change has obviously been priced, probably at a lower level than current spending, he would only say that it would be "unwise when you are moving to a new system to make a forecast of what the take-up would be."

One of the problems which will face local authorities having to administer a system like the one envisaged in yesterday's document would be the administrative costs of means tests that will have to have a sliding scale of assets versus costs of the repairs if a new form of poverty trap is to be avoided.

Under the proposals, all improvement and repair work to bring a house up to a "standard of fitness" would attract grant so long as the owner passed the eligibility test.

The loans would be discretionary for improvements above the level of the fitness standard and would be subject to the same eligibility tests.

Housing Improvement—A New Approach. Cmnd 9513, Stationery Office, £3.50.

CRE considers case against solicitors

By David Rose

Allegations that solicitors are racist in refusing to brief black barristers are to be considered by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), the chairman, Mr Peter Newsam, said last night.

At a meeting earlier in the day with representatives of the black bar, led by Mr Sibghat Kadri, a former president of the Society of Black Lawyers, Mr Newsam was told of the formation of a monitoring project to gather evidence of discrimination.

The project will apply for funding to the CRE and hopes that its evidence will be followed by a full-scale investigation into the solicitors' profession by the commission, under the terms of the Race Relations Act.

The project pre-empted a meeting between the Law Society and the bar senate later this month called to discuss the allegations. Last night, Mr Kadri said that he had no faith in the Law Society's ability to confront the problem and that independent action was necessary.

It is thought that the planned monitoring project will concentrate on cases where black defendants have written to barristers asking them to take on their cases.

only to be overruled by white solicitors.

Mr Kadri said that he had personal experience of this in at least 40 cases during the past two years, and he also asked Mr Newsam yesterday to write on behalf of the CRE to prison governors, asking them to ensure that black prisoners were fully aware of their right to choose counsel.

Mr Newsam said that he was seriously concerned at the evidence he was given yesterday and added that the application for a grant would be seriously considered.

Those west as far as he was aware, no provision by the Law Society to ensure that equality of opportunity was observed and he felt that there was a marked reluctance by the profession to address the problem. In any institution where this type of decision is left entirely to the discretion of individuals, there is always a possibility that things will go wrong," he said.

The problem was made worse, because any attempt to complain by barristers ran the risk of breaking rules of professional conduct, he said.

"It's a really serious issue which has to be confronted: the equivalent of a company recruiting entirely by word of mouth — if it's all white it will go on being all white."

Fall by over a third in overseas students

By David Hearst

The number of overseas students studying in Britain has fallen by over a third since Mrs Thatcher came to power, the British Council said yesterday. The council said that Britain was losing ground to Japan, France and the United States, which will expand their scholarship programme by 50 per cent next year.

The overseas student population in Britain fell from 88,037 in 1979-80 to 55,608 in 1983-4. The council said that the Asian market for overseas students had been captured by America. The number of Chinese, Indonesian and Malaysian students studying there has risen by up to one third in the last two academic years.

Mr Derek Beard, assistant director general of the council, said: "These figures are not good news for a country which

prides itself on the international reputation of higher education. Worldwide, about one million people are studying overseas and the number is increasing by 14 per cent a year. But between 1976 and 1981 our share of the market fell by 25 per cent and is still falling."

Mr Beard said that West Germany contributed £400 million a year for the education of 66,000 students, and France taught 100,000 students a year.

The council said that the number of Commonwealth students has fallen by 37 per cent since 1979-80. The fall in overseas students, which was started by the Government's decision that they should pay the full cost of their higher education fees, had been partially offset by a £87 million government programme to subsidise students from developing countries.

Hormone banned

By David Pallister

Doctors were told yesterday to stop giving pituitary gland hormones to children with growth problems.

The hormone treatment has already been banned in the United States after the death of three Americans in their twenties and thirties who were treated several years ago.

They died of a very rare disease, creutzfeldt-jakob, which normally affects only old people. It is a terminal disease following progressive dementia.

A spokesman for the DHSS said that supplies in this country, from the Centre of Applied Microbiological Research at Porton Down, from in duered differently, from America. But it was felt prudent to stop the treatment. Genetically produced hormones are undergoing tests at the moment and it is hoped that this method will be used in the near future.

Scrutiny of police

By Stephen Cook

The new Police Complaints Authority is to use its discretionary power to supervise police investigations into two instances of alleged misconduct by officers, although no member of the public has made a complaint.

The first is the allegation that officers in Merseyside have been using police computers to find the winners of a car number plate competition being run by BP and National and suggesting that they share the prize. The PCA decided to supervise because of the "considerable public interest."

The second is the case of Mr Ronald Harrison, who was discharged at Chelmsford Crown Court last week by Mr Justice Forbes. The judge said the police had acted in a bullying and oppressive manner while obtaining an alleged confession that he had killed his mother. Essex Police referred the case to the PCA.

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Levy on commercial TV stations 'should increase'

By Dennis Barker

The Independent Broadcasting Authority, the Home Office and the Treasury were urged yesterday to take action to force commercial television companies and radio contractors to increase the annual levy paid to the Exchequer on profits.

In a report published yesterday Sir Gordon Downey, the Comptroller and Auditor-General, points out that the levy has scarcely altered over the last 10 years, even though advertising revenue had increased fivefold in the same period.

Levy payments in 1982-83 totalled £23.5 million, compared with not advertising revenue of £850 million. "As a comparison," the report says, "contractors paid almost the same amount 10 years ago on advertising revenue of about £150 million."

ITV companies may deduct their subscriptions to Channel 4, their profits from exports and various other sums from their published profits for the

purpose of assessing leviable profit. In 1982-83, the year chosen by the National Audit Office for its report, the largest ITV company, Thames, paid no levy — under criteria laid down by the IBA — although it took over £115 million in advertising revenue and had pre-levy profits of over £9 million.

A Thames spokesman said yesterday that the company did not read the report as an indictment of itself. "Because our revenue from overseas sales, at £18 million, was as great as the rest of the ITV network put together, we are doing our bit for the Exchequer in paying tax on profits, even if we did not pay this particular levy," he said.

A Treasury and Home Office group which has been investigating the financial set-up of commercial television is expected to call for a levy to be paid on profits from overseas sales, although Thames says that but for these profits, it might have slipped into the red.

Some ministers would like to see levy imposed on advertising revenue rather than on profits, since they believe that a levy on profits encourages over-spending by the companies.

Mr David Shaw, general secretary of the Independent Television Companies' Association, said yesterday that he hoped the drift of the report would not be a back door method of trying to make Channel 4 financially self-supporting, so that ITV companies did not have to fund it.

"Channel 4 can produce the programmes it does, including those for minorities, because it doesn't have to worry about whether it pays for itself or not," said Mr Shaw. "A self-supporting Channel 4 is a non-starter. That line of argument is very worrying. It is naive and doesn't take account of the nature of the whole broadcasting system at all." In the present year, the companies were paying £161 million into Channel 4.

Firms' safety failures 'kill 70'

By David Hearst

Bad management is responsible for the deaths of 70 workers a year while machinery and plant are being maintained, the Health and Safety Executive said yesterday.

The death toll is rising each year and the executive plans to "blitz" companies with visits by their inspectors, who have the power to shut factories.

An HSE survey published yesterday showed that there were 326 deaths and 10,000 serious injuries from 1980 to 1982 caused by or during maintenance, one fifth of all industrial accidents.

By 4.30 p.m. construction contractors were the worst culprits, accounting for 72 deaths. The two most common causes of death were being crushed by conveyors or cranes and from falls.

Mr John Rimmington, HSE director-general, said that 83 per cent of these accidents could have been avoided with reasonable precautions.

The HSE's factory inspectorate has 550 inspectors to oversee 400,000 factories and an unestimated number of building sites, made 185,000 visits a year and issued 6,000 notices prohibiting work or demanding it be improved.

But at the survey's launch, the HSE was attacked by the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians, an unestimated number of building sites, made 185,000 visits a year and issued 6,000 notices prohibiting work or demanding it be improved.

Mr Doug Sanderson, national officer of UCAT, said: "If 80 per cent of accidents are breaches of the law, which the HSE polices, why are not more employers prosecuted?"

Mr Rimmington said that more stringent sentences were a matter for the courts, but said it was nonsense to say the HSE did not use its powers.

Deadly Maintenance, £15, Stationery Office.



Lorraine Curtis, aged 21, Miss Navajo 1983, models a traditional dress and silver crown of the Navajo North American Indian tribe at an exhibition of crafts at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Picture by Frank Martin.

Blood test 'fails to show baby link'

From Joe Joyce in Dublin

Blood tests on Miss Joanne Hayes, the woman at the centre of the "Kerry babies" case, produced no evidence that she had given birth to the infant found stabbed to death last year, a Home Office pathology team said yesterday.

Dr Patrick Lincoln, from London University's Department of Forensic Medicine, said that Miss Hayes's group O blood contained no indications that she had carried a foetus with group A blood, the apparent group of the murdered baby.

It was common for women who had given birth to babies of different blood groups to show indications in their own blood, but it was not a conclusive test, he said.

Dr Lincoln was called by lawyers for some of the police involved in order to cast doubt on the blood groupings reported by the Irish forensic science laboratory.

It was a possibility that tissue used to determine the murdered baby's blood group had been contaminated by bacteria which would give a distorted finding, he said, and a second test that should have been carried out was not.

Superintendent John Courtney, the senior detective on the case, in which murder charges have been dropped against Miss Hayes, denied that he had orchestrated incriminating statements signed by Miss Hayes and her family which described the baby's stabbing.

He said he believed she had given birth to twins, one in a field and one in her family house. The second baby had been murdered.

NEWS IN BRIEF

'Porn' seized by Yard

POLICE yesterday seized thousands of magazines and video films under the Obscene Publications Act in 34 raids in London and 13 other towns and cities.

Three articulated lorry loads of magazines and videos were taken from the head office of Gold Star Publications in Whiteley, Surrey.

The firm's depot in Ilington, North London, was also raided, as were premises owned by the company in 12 other places including Birmingham, Lancashire, Manchester and Ipswich.

A Gold Star director said that the material had been earmarked for export, mainly to the United States.

Beethoven letter fetches £55,000

A LONG-LOST letter from Beethoven to the only woman he loved was sold by Sotheby's yesterday for £55,000. With it was sold an engraved portrait that Beethoven sent to Antonie von Brentano, an aristocrat who was married to a banker.

Beethoven met her in 1810, when he was 40. The letter sold yesterday was written in 1810.

Husband 'has no right to stay'

AN IMMIGRANT husband whose German-born wife left him and returned to West Germany has no independent right to remain here, the House of Lords ruled yesterday.

Five law lords unanimously dismissed an appeal by Indian-born Amarjit Singh Sandhu, aged 44, of Martindale Road, Hounslow, Middlesex, against his proposed deportation. Mr Sandhu married his wife in Germany in March 1975.

Firms fined over divers' deaths

TWO divers died after breathing the wrong gas in a pressurised chamber, it was said at Aberdeen sheriff court yesterday. Mr David Bowman, aged 28, of South Wingfield, Derbyshire, and Mr Thomas Mackey, aged 30, of Boddam, near Peterhead, were carrying out a test at the premises of their employers, Sub Sea Offshore, in Aberdeen in February.

Sub Sea Offshore was fined £2,500 after admitting failing to check the cylinders. Air Products Ltd, of Walton on Thames, Surrey, who manufactured and supplied the cylinders, was fined £1,000 after admitting wrongly labelling them.

Inquiry into gaol incident

POLICE are investigating an incident at Long Lartin prison, Worcestershire, two weeks ago, in which a prisoner armed with a knife, tied up two women teachers and a man in the prison's education department and indecently assaulted one of the women.

Minister attacks delay in anti-drug fight

By David Hencke, Social Services Correspondent

Mr John Patten, the junior health minister, yesterday accused the World Health Organisation of acting too slowly in drawing up international guidelines on the prevention and treatment of drug abuse.

He told the world Health Assembly in Geneva that national governments must act now rather than wait until next year to draw up plans for international co-operation.

"I know the WHO is preparing a publication on strategies and guidelines for the prevention of drug abuse which will be published next year. To be frank, I do not think this is quick enough. We need action this year," he said.

"In 1984 in the UK, about £19 million was spent on policing activities on drug abuse; £10.15 million on Customs. My own department has committed £12 million of central funds and more is spent by health and social services departments.

He said that more could be done to share information between countries on the evaluation of different methods of treatment for drug abusers.

He also warned other countries of an emerging problem of dependence on legally prescribed minor tranquillizers.

"Many of your countries could learn from this experience and perhaps be less keen to introduce these drugs on a wide scale than we have in the West."

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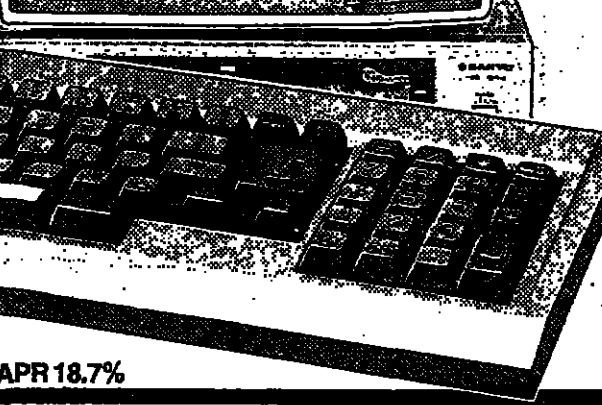
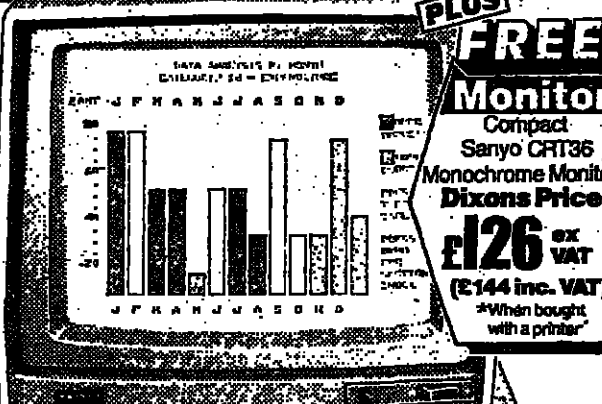
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Walk-through aquarium and tundra display will be first parts of modernisation to create 'structured experience'

London Zoo launches £21m 'theme park' rebuilding plan

By Dennis Barker

LONDON Zoo is to move closer to being a theme park with plans announced yesterday for a £21 million rebuilding programme lasting until the year 2000 and starting with a £2.4 million aquarium with a Sin, thick acrylic glazing and a North American tundra display.

By the end of the century the present scattered buildings of the zoo will be replaced by 10 animal centres with simulated natural environments which will show about two-thirds of the species now on view.

The aquarium will be built on the site of the present parrot house and will replace the one under the Mappin Terrace, which will be redeveloped as the North American tundra exhibit.

Mr David Jones, director of zoos, said that a new aquarium in the US would cost about \$20 million to \$30 million and "we don't feel it would offer the visitor very much more in the way of a visual experience than the one we are suggesting now."

The giant and smaller tanks have been designed as a "planned experience" with two main halls. One will show a series of fish in tanks, including "touch tanks", so children may touch the fish. Visitors will go on to a larger hall which will show underwater life in more detail in medium-sized tanks.

Finally, visitors will move to a large 88,000-gallon tank, where they will stand inside a circle on glazed water, which will give them the feeling of being on the seabed. The aquarium is expected to be completed by 1988.

The North American tundra exhibition will cost £3

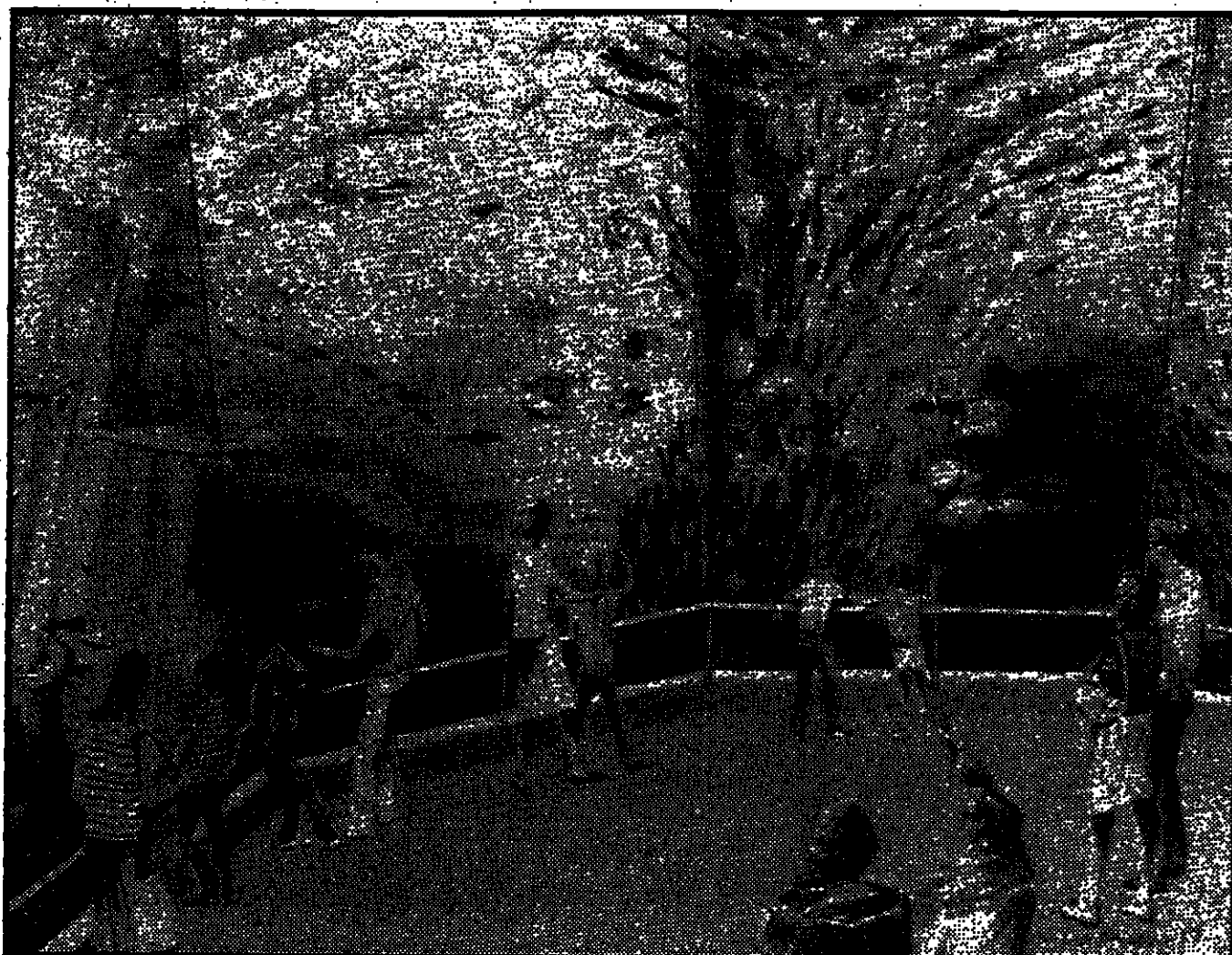
million and utilise the main structure of Mappin Terrace, which simulates mountains. The zoo improvements, considered necessary to boost the present one million a year admissions, will be helped by £3 million over three years granted by the Government last year. Of this, £6 million will go to paying off an annual deficit of £2 million a year, £1 million will be used to wipe out the zoo's overdraft, and £1 million will go towards capital development.

The Government has promised up to £750,000 a year if matched pound for pound by private sponsorship. The capital rebuilding programme will depend heavily on such sponsors and Mr Jones said yesterday that if any company or organisation wanted to sponsor the aquarium their name would be given to it.

At yesterday's launch of the proposals zoo officials said that experience elsewhere, especially in North America, suggested that a more "structured experience" was the way for zoos to go. Visitors would still be able to wander around in any way they wished.

"If anyone objects to our new plans," said Mr Jones, "they should remember that we could run a completely Victorian zoo, having bears in pits with a pole in the middle. But then people would object to us keeping animals in conditions like that."

Some of the animals have already been moved for the redevelopment, which will not include any listed buildings, but will still have to receive planning permission. The bears have gone to Dudley Zoo in the Midlands.



UNDERSEA SCENE: An artist's impression of the large tank planned for London Zoo's new aquarium.

Jobless youth no fault of the schools, says Willis

By Andrew Mencer
Education Staff

Secondary schools could not be blamed for the high levels of youth unemployment, Mr Norman Willis, TUC general secretary, said yesterday. He said some people mistakenly believed that education they provided was a big factor contributing to the problem. That was misguided, and the belief that a better school curriculum would dramatically improve young people's chances of getting jobs at a time when almost 40 per cent of the 3.2 million unemployed were under the age of 25.

"The causes of youth unemployment lie outside the schools. It is not in the schools that we will find solutions to the scandalous levels of unemployment among our young people," he said.

"A 17-year-old bristling with work-related skills may be better able to compete for a job — but only if a job is there to compete for. The job of schools goes beyond meeting the narrow requirements of employers."

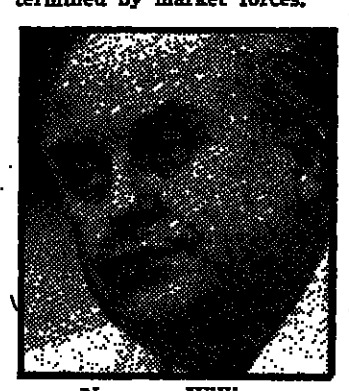
Mr Willis told a London conference of employment and education, organised by the TUC Education Alliance, that all pupils need help to understand how industrial society works. They also need basic skills and flexibility. He called for coordination of

the curriculum, examinations and teacher training, and the provision of money to make improvements possible.

● Britain no longer has the best education system in the world and has fallen badly behind her competitors, Sir Kenneth Cornfield, president of the Institute of Directors, said yesterday.

The most serious fault was the lack of graduate engineers, said Sir Kenneth, writing in the institute's magazine, The Director.

He also suggested that Britain should look at the way it paid for its education. The shape and size of the higher education system should be determined by market forces.



Norman Willis — mistaken belief

Miner 'told of dropping concrete off bridge'

By a Correspondent

A court heard yesterday how a young miner admitted to police that he had dropped a concrete block from a bridge, killing a taxi driver as he took a working woman to his colliery during the miners' strike.

Reginald Hancock, aged 21, was alleged to have said: "I put the block on the railings and just gave it a little push and it went over. I heard a bang and glanced behind and saw the car go up the bank and then we ran like hell."

Cardiff Crown Court was told that Hancock said he had gone to the bridge on the heads of the Valleys road near Merthyr Tydfil, Mid-Glamorgan, after another miner, Russell Shankland, also 21, had phoned him and asked if they were "going to do it."

Asked by Detective Constable Robert Davies where the 46lb block had come from, Hancock allegedly said: "We only found it two minutes before the convoy came. We went up and sat down. We saw a panda car go past, then the convoy." Detective Constable Davies said that Hancock had told him that Shankland had dropped a 8ft concrete post, which missed the vehicles.

Detective Constable Davies said Hancock had at first denied all knowledge of the incident and admitted it to the head of South Wales CID, Detective Chief Superintendent Don Carsely, still refused to name his companion.

Hancock is also alleged to have told police: "I thought I was over the middle lane. I didn't mean to do any damage — just to frighten."

Asked whether the third defendant, Anthony Williams, was present, Hancock said at first: "He's not involved. When we ran away from the bridge into the fields I jumped the gate and we saw him, and he came with us."

Earlier the court had been told that a difference of one mile per hour either way in the speed of the taxi could have resulted in a concrete block dropped from the bridge landing on the bonnet or roof of the car instead of smashing through the windscreen.

All three defendants, of Rhymney, Mid-Glamorgan, deny the murder charge. The trial continues.

Ecologists call for policy by referendum

By Michael Morris

Ecology Party candidates in the Northern Ireland district council elections on May 15 are proposing a referendum for reaching compromise and consensus in the province.

Three candidates — one standing as an independent ecologist — say they are proposing the referendum to break away from the two-party system and allow the people of Northern Ireland to vote for a range of options on their future.

Votes would be cast under a system of proportional representation, already used in the province.

The independent candidate, Mr Peter Emerson, of Belfast, argues that if the Northern Ireland voters can use proportional representation for electing people those elected can surely use it for selecting policies.

The electorate would list preferences for such options as a Northern Ireland federated to, united with or independent of London and/or Dublin.

An independent panel, the ecologists suggest, could choose a dozen options for the multiple choice referendum, which has been recently adopted by the Ecology Party and the Irish Green Alliance.

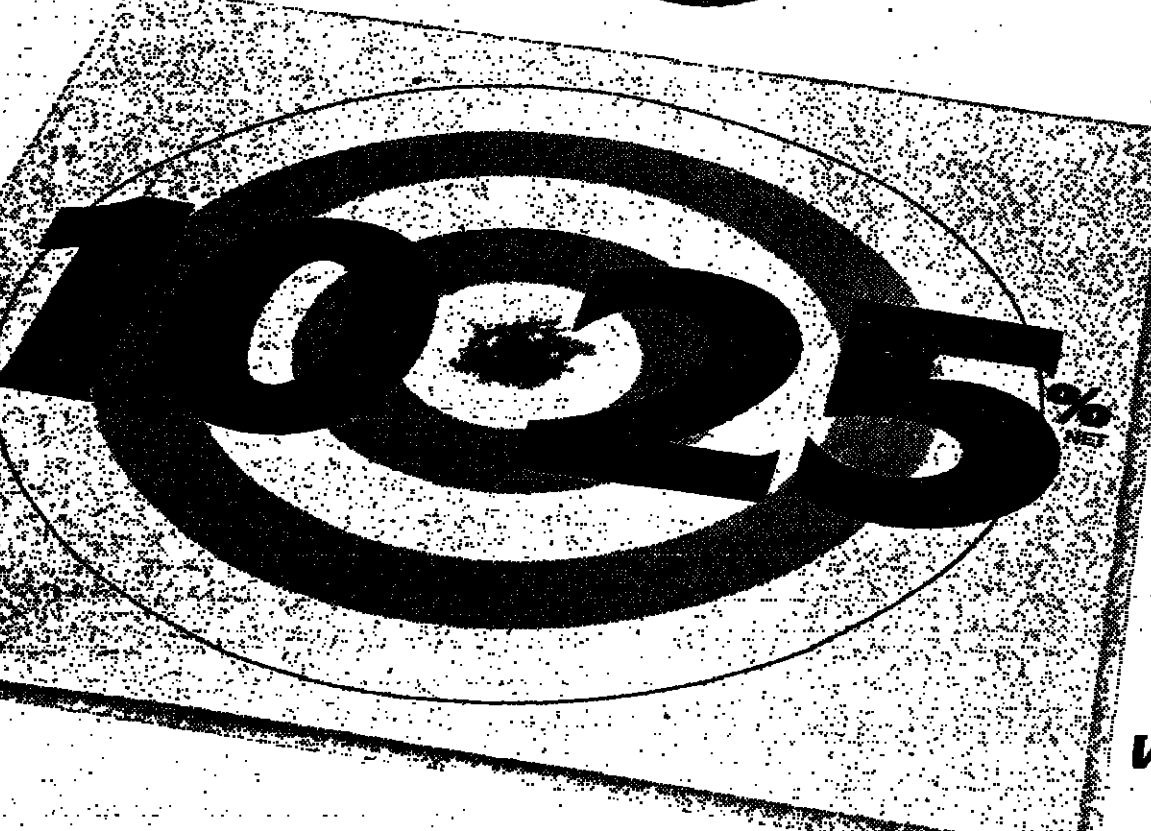
The referendum would be analysed on a weighting system, so that each preference cast would receive points in direct proportion to the number of options available.

The proposal has been put to the Northern Ireland Office, the Northern Ireland Office, and the Liberal/SDP Alliance. Mr Tony Jones, the Ecology Party secretary, said that politicians had fixed positions, making it hard to get the idea adopted, but privately they believed that compromise would have to be accepted "somewhere along the line."

Mr Emerson, a former community worker, said that a multiple choice referendum, a product of many years of thought, would be a catalyst of consensus. He added: "By having a dozen options, in whatever order people chose, they would be able to vote in a variety of ways."

The system, the candidates say, could be used for electing a council or assembly, and for the latter to elect an executive.

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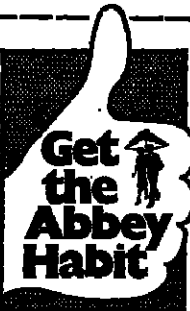
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Zimbabwe discusses election powers

From Andrew Meldrum in Harare

Parliament resumed yesterday to renew the Government's emergency powers which, the Home Affairs Minister, Mr. Simon Muboko, said, are needed to maintain law and order during elections expected next month.

Mr. Muboko told Parliament that the draconian powers are needed to combat violent interference planned for the campaign period by Zimbabwe's anti-government dissidents.

Mr. Muboko alleged that the Opposition party of Mr. Joshua Nkomo, the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (Zapu), had sponsored the dissident violence which had been aimed against the Government and members of the Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (Zanu). Mr. Muboko also said that the emergency powers are needed to oppose South Africa's destabilisation of Zimbabwe by the apartheid regime's support of the dissidents.

Mr. Muboko listed many dissident atrocities that have occurred since January this year, including 29 murders, 26 rapes and 139 armed robberies of \$50,000. He said the Zimbabwe army has had 61 contacts with bands of dissidents and 432 sightings of the roving renegades have been reported.

Although passage of the emergency powers is assured by the ruling Zanu party's 57-seat majority of the 100-seat house, debate over the controversial measure was expected to continue later last night, and a vote to be taken late today.

The former Rhodesian Prime Minister Mr. Ian Smith, now the leader of a white opposition party, was the first to speak about the emergency powers, which include the power to detain people indefinitely without trial.

Mr. Smith criticised the Mugabe Government's use of the emergency powers, which was ironic, considering that Mr. Smith's Rhodesian Front Government first instituted the powers in 1965 to suppress black nationalism.

Mr. Smith said the Mugabe Government was "making the classic mistake of using military powers to try to solve a political problem."

SA cuts local powers

From Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr. Chris Heunis, has told Parliament that provincial councils will be phased out between April and June, 1986.

The four provincial councils were originally established in 1910 to guarantee a degree of autonomy for the four colonies which joined together to form the then Union of South Africa. Their most important powers are control of white education, hospitals, and roads.

Under the plan outlined by Mr. Heunis, these powers will be split in accordance with the new tri-racial constitution, into "own affairs" and "general affairs." Racially identifiable "own affairs" will be transferred to the white, Coloured, and Indian ministers' councils formed by the majority parties in the tricameral Parliament.

Common or "general affairs" will, however, be the responsibility of a tri-racial executive committee and an administrator appointed by the State President from "serving politicians."

The changes have been designed to facilitate devolution of power by making each race responsible for its own communal affairs. But according to opposition spokesmen, by bringing them under the control of Parliament and the President, they will increase the authority of the central Government at the expense of the province.

Britons still held

Lagos: A High Court judge here yesterday rejected a request for the release of two detained British engineers accused of stealing an executive jet.

Kenneth Clark and Angus Patterson, employed by the British firm, Bristow Helicopters in Nigeria, have been held for nearly a year. They are accused of helping a British pilot fly the plane from Lagos airport in May last year while private flights were banned.

Clark and Patterson, who were not in court yesterday, were discharged when the federal attorney-general represented as they left the court and charged again.

The defence argued that it was unconstitutional to try the two men again on a similar charge. Clark and Patterson are next due in court on Monday.

A British diplomat, Mr. Ian Kyrle, saw the two men last week. They were coping with difficult circumstances in prison. — Reuter.

More than 23 die in longest bout of shelling for a year

Gemayel told to quit after latest Beirut fighting

Beirut: Lebanon's main coalition of Christian political leaders yesterday called for an end to sectarian fighting after overnight shelling killed at least 23 people in Beirut.

But one well-known Christian, the former president Mr. Suleiman Franjeh, who is closely allied with Syria, called for the resignation of President Amin Gemayel, also a Christian.

The 15-hour duel across the Green Line, a front line in which at least another 70 people were wounded, was the longest bout of shelling between mainly-Muslim west and Christian east Beirut in more than a year.

Police said at least five blocks of flats were gutted by uncontrolled fire. Shooting prevented fire brigades from moving in to put out the fires.

Mr. Franjeh said at a press conference in north Lebanon that Gemayel was either in collusion with militant leaders or the Christian Lebanese.

A TOTAL of 21 Israeli soldiers have committed suicide in Lebanon since the 1982 invasion and the stress of military duty in the volatile south was partly responsible, the Defence Minister, Mr. Yitzhak Rabin said in parliament yesterday. — Reuter.

Forces militia, which is opposed to reconciliation with Muslims, or was afraid to confront them. "In either case, he is not worthy of being President," Mr. Franjeh said.

In east Beirut, a former cabinet minister Mr. Charles Malek said after a meeting of the Christian Lebanese Front coalition that it wanted to save Lebanon from an alarming crisis.

Calling the past nine days of fighting in Beirut part of a conspiracy against the Lebanese people, especially the Christians, Mr. Malek said the Front would try to halt all the fighting in Lebanon.

It was seeking with all means at its disposal to halt the killing, destruction, and displacement of people, he said.

The Front is dominated by the Phalangist and National Liberal militias which were moving to support Syrian plans for Muslim-Christian reconciliation before a revolt last month in the Lebanese Forces Christian militia.

The militia called last week for a national dialogue to end sectarian strife, although its new leader Samir Geagea, has series of meetings, including "amnesty, reinstatement and all other pending political problems."

In Pyongyang, North Korea, the Chinese Communist Party chief, Mr. Hu Yaobang, had nine hours of talks with Kim Il-sung during an unannounced visit over the weekend. The New China News Agency reported yesterday.

It said that Mr. Hu, making his third trip to North Korea in four years, discussed bilateral relations and ways to relax tensions on the Korean peninsula during his visit from May 4 to 6.

The two leaders shared identical views on all issues discussed, the agency said, but gave no details.

Those attending the talks included Kim Jong-il, the son and heir apparent of Kim Il-sung, the Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister, Zhu Qizhen, and Xu Xian, deputy chief of the general staff of the Chinese armed forces. — AP/Reuter.

Parties agree date for Seoul assembly

Seoul: After a month of negotiation, South Korea's two main political parties agreed yesterday to convene a new national assembly on May 13.

National elections were held on February 12. The two opposing parties, however, had failed to agree on calling the new assembly into session.

The main stumbling block was an opposition demand that civil rights be fully restored to a dissident leader, Kim Dae Jung, and that all "prisoners of conscience" be freed before the new assembly convened.

The floor leaders of the ruling Democratic Justice Party of President Chun and the opposition New Korea Democratic Party had been talking for more than a month, and finally reached a compromise by bypassing the crucial issue.

Instead, they said in a joint statement that they had agreed that the ruling and opposition parties "pledge to make joint efforts for the settlement" of all pending issues raised at the



Put in the picture: A Japanese photographer, Toshiyuki Matsumoto, identifies photographs he took moments before the murder of the Philippines' Opposition leader, Benigno Aquino. He was giving evidence at the trial for murder of the armed forces chief, Fabian Ver, and 25 others

Lebanon's Christians are now on their own as never before

Beirut may now be seeing the last stage of the civil war. David Hirst reports

PERHAPS even more obviously than usual, no one really knows what started the latest round of Lebanese fighting.

Ten days ago, Beirut's so-called "traditional" fronts began to witness the kind of small scale, sporadic exchanges which have unusually faded out as quickly as they began. But for the first time since last July — and the application of a much-vaunted security plan in Greater Beirut — they steadily grew in scale and intensity.

Barriadees went up. The six crossings between the Muslim and Christian halves of the city were closed down one by one.

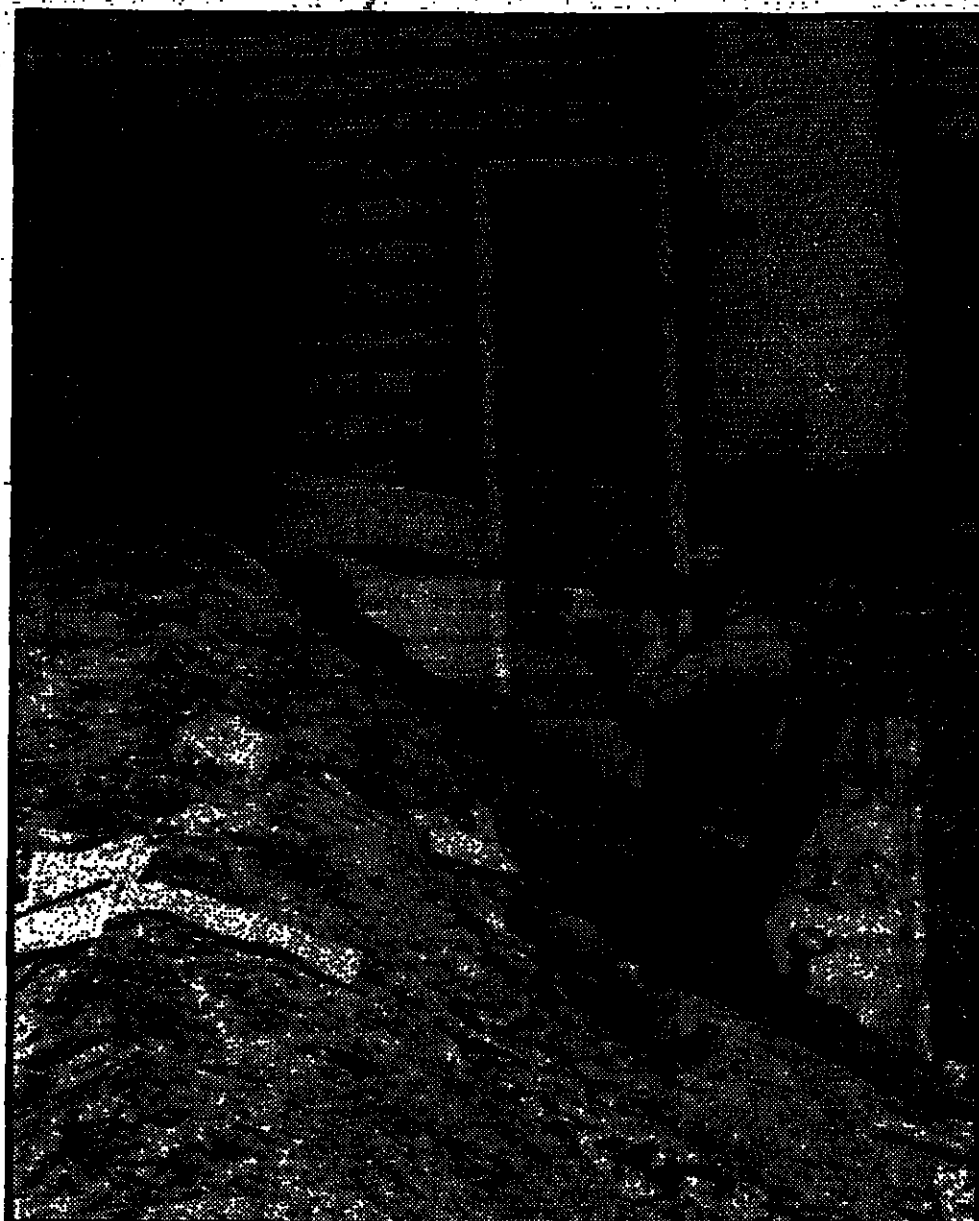
With an inexorable but all too familiar logic, skirmishes continued to the largely deserted ruins of the city centre escalated into artillery duels which struck at random deep into residential areas on both sides of the Green Line, making Monday night, with its scores of civilians killed and injured, one of the bloodiest and most terrifying in 10 years of civil war.

Nor does anyone know what course the fighting will take: whether it will develop into an all out conflagration, whether it will be protracted or intermittent. But insofar as it has any deeper meaning, there is perhaps more than usual conviction in predominantly Muslim West Beirut about what that meaning is. This, it is being widely said, is the last round of the civil war.

Whatever its specific causes, the general breakdown of the Beirut ceasefire is ultimately a product of the Israeli withdrawal from the south. Israel's interference in Lebanon's internal affairs has been chiefly marked by its championing of the Maronite Christians, or at least the Phalangist militants among them, its great adversary having been to bring the whole country so thoroughly under Phalangist control that a pro-Israeli president would be able to conclude a peace treaty with it, in defiance of the Arab world and Lebanon's own internal opposition.

Ever since that ambition came to nothing, the Israelis have been withdrawing, both politically and territorially, and a crisis process enters its final stage. It is the Phalangists who are paying the price.

Two months ago, in a bid to stop the rot, Dr. Samir Geagea and his Phalangist-dominated Lebanese Forces militia staged their uprising against President



Muslim fighters take aim with a Russian-made grenade-launcher at a Christian militia post in East Beirut

Gemayel, whom they saw as weak, mercurial, and subservient to the Syrians.

But within six weeks the new saviour of the Christian community and his followers had suffered two military defeats reminiscent of the rout that followed the Israeli withdrawal from the Shuf Mountains in September, 1983.

In the Sidon area, at least, it was the Lebanese Forces' own excesses — six weeks of one-sided shelling of the city — and their precipitated withdrawal which brought calamity upon heads of the Christians they had come to "protect." Yet, no sooner had this happened, than, Dr. Geagea, in a belated press conference, served notice that, henceforth, the Christians could rely only on their guns. Everything that had been taken by force would be recovered by force.

He denounced almost everyone — not just the Muslims and Druzes, but Mr. Gemayel and the Syrians. It was almost as if Dr. Geagea

was seeking to react what had happened in the Shuf, Khim al-Kharoub, and Sidon.

Only this time it was not some outlying outpost of Lebanese Christendom that would face the Druze-Muslim onslaught, it was their last redoubt, the Maronite heartlands north of Beirut, which Dr. Geagea has clearly delineated as his own.

In the eyes of almost everyone else, this is a sure recipe for Christian suicide. The Maronites, they say, cannot indefinitely defy their Muslim and Arab environment. Traditionally, they have always relied on an external backstop, Israel, the West, even the Syrians, to redress an intrinsic imbalance, but now, with the Israelis going, they are on their own as never before.

There are signs that not merely the Muslim opposition, but the Christian community itself, or growing segments of it, now holds that the diehard intransigence of its self-appointed saviours is the most danger-

ous enemy. A struggle is under way for the soul of the Christians.

The new refugees are openly cursing their leaders without exception. The Maronite community cannot but be bewildered by discord at the top. Influential voices are being raised against Dr. Geagea and his men, not least those of the old-guard phalangist leadership, who sometimes speak a language not all that different from their Muslim adversaries.

The party chairman, Dr. Eli Karame, called Dr. Geagea's press conference "a declaration of war." And the Lebanese "Forces" keep chopping and changing.

If this is indeed the last round of the Lebanese civil war, its end will come, West Beirut hope, when the Maronite Christian camp breaks under the strain, throwing up a new leadership capable of reconciliation with Lebanon's other communities, and opening the way for political reforms that alone can put this shattered country together again.

Asians on patrol in Kabul

ISLAMABAD: Troops from Soviet Central Asia, long considered unreliable for use in Afghanistan because of their Muslim background, have reappeared in patrols in Kabul as part of a heightened security drive, western diplomatic sources said here yesterday, quoting reports from the capital.

At the start of the Soviet occupation, up to 40 per cent of Moscow's troops in Afghanistan were originally Tajiks, Turkmen, Uzbeks, and Tajiks from Soviet Central Asia who are ethnic cousins of the people in northern Afghanistan.

Moscow later reduced their number as the Central Asian soldiers fraternised with Afghans, whose languages, religion, and cultural heritage they shared.

Thai planes sent to attack Vietnamese

Chanthaburi: Thailand sent warplanes against Vietnamese troops inside Thai territory yesterday as marines advanced to push the intruders back across the Kampuchean border, a Thai military commander said.

Vice-Admiral Prasert Nolkhamrui said at his headquarters here, 40 miles from the border, that 900 to 1,200 Vietnamese soldiers were dug in along a four-mile stretch of mountainous countryside 500 to 1,000 yards inside Thailand. He said that the Vietnamese entered Thailand in late April in pursuit of about 1,000 Khmer Rouge guerrillas.

Admiral Prasert said that the drive to push back the intruders began last Saturday but Thai forces had to advance very slowly: "It's very tedious because every step of the way has been heavily mined by the Vietnamese."

He refused to say how many Thai troops were involved in the operation or the number of aircraft supporting them.

So far one Thai soldier and eight Vietnamese had been killed and 14 Thais wounded.

Admiral Prasert said the Vietnamese troops inside Thailand were supported by cross-border artillery and mortar fire.

The Khmer Rouge is one of the three groups in a coalition force fighting the United Nations-recognised Heng Samrin government installed in Phnom Penh by Hanoi.

The Admiral said that latest Vietnamese intrusion was likely to be the last before the imminent start of the rainy season, which would severely hamper troop movements.

Hanoi's forces began a dry-season offensive against the guerrillas last November, capturing or overrunning all their main border bases. — Reuter.

Two die in new Punjab violence

NEW DELHI: Sikhs killed two Hindus, including the son of a local leader of Mr. Gandhi's party, on Monday night, adding new tension to the Punjab.

Paramilitary reinforcements were rushed to the scene of the killings, in the Hindu-majority northern Punjab town of Bhatinda, which was placed under 24-hour curfew.

Police said that reinforcements were called in after Hindus started attacking Sikh shops and pedestrians in retaliation for the murders.

They said that six men shot dead Ramesh Kumar, the son of Ram Laddha, the head of the Dalwari section of the Congress (I) Party, at his farm.

A spate of attacks in the past week has coincided with efforts by Mr. Gandhi to get peace talks started and a split between moderate and militant Sikh political leaders.

In a sign of growing impatience at the stalemate in Punjab, Mr. Gandhi has said that the Government is prepared to take any action necessary to restore peace.

"Some people are feeling that we have become too soft and meek on Punjab. But the way of love does not mean weakness," he told a meeting of Congress (I) members in New Delhi.

His peace efforts have been hampered by a power struggle for control of the Sikh's main political party, the Akali Dal.

The split, between the moderates led by the party president, Baramand Singh Longowal, and the militants, headed by the father of the dead extremist leader, Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, has left the Government wondering whom to negotiate with.

Sources said there was growing concern that time was running out for a clear-cut settlement. They noted that the anniversary was approaching of the army's assault on Amritsar's Golden Temple on June 3 last year. — Reuter.

Nuclear arms issue stalls US warship visits to China

From James Gerstmann in Peking

China has been refusing for more than two months to give permission for US navy ships to begin visiting Chinese ports, and a US Administration official confirmed in Washington that the delay has been caused by an argument about whether the ships will be carrying nuclear weapons.

American diplomats here have been saying only that the agreement has been delayed by technical difficulties, but the official in Washington said: "It is hung up on that (nuclear weapons) issue."

He said that the US had reached no agreement with the Chinese "on what kind of weapons would be aboard any American ships that would stop in Shanghai. We didn't make any kind of commitment."

The controversy, which could develop into a serious setback for Sino-American relations, is reminiscent of the dispute earlier this year with New Zealand over the American policy of refusing to say whether navy ships carry nuclear weapons.

It is possible that the two sides will soon agree on the first visit, which US officials have hoped to arrange for later this month. But the proposed port call, which was earlier viewed as a public display of co-operation between US and Chinese military officials, has instead become a source of friction and controversy.

The Administration source in Washington said that, in discussions with the Chinese, the US has insisted on holding to its standard policy of neither confirming nor denying the presence of nuclear weapons on its ships. "That doesn't seem to be enough for the Chinese," he said.

A Pentagon official said that State Department officials were trying to resolve the dif-

sculty, and that the navy was awaiting orders.

Another Administration official said: "We'll know in a short time whether the visit will take place soon." US and Chinese officials were trying to find language dealing with the nuclear weapon question that "everyone can live with."

At the same time, he said, if the port call depended on the US shifting its policy on refusing to disclose the presence of nuclear weapons the visit would not take place.

Some analysts in Peking believe that China's reluctance to approve the port call is the result of internal conflict within the regime or within the army over how closely China should publicly align itself with the US. China has repeatedly sought to stress that it maintains an independent foreign policy and is not closely tied to either of the superpowers. — Los Angeles Times.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Stoppage starts to bite

A FIVE-DAY strike by civil servants hit ordinary Swedes yesterday as fruit and vegetable prices rose and returning holidaymakers were forced to make long coach journeys from other Nordic capitals.

Shopkeepers said that prices of fresh foodstuffs had risen substantially since the 255,000-strong civil servants' union TCOS began selective strikes last Thursday in support of a pay claim, closing airports and virtually paralysing foreign trade.

"Prices of most fruit and vegetables have gone up and they're going to be more and more difficult to get hold of this week," a stallholder, Veli Oksanen, said yesterday in Stockholm city-centre market. — Reuter.

Chinese plaudits

The wife of Mr. Hu Yaobang, the reforming Chinese Communist party chief who popularised the wearing of Western suits, yesterday admitted a glittering display of top French fashion by Yves Saint Laurent. "I think at first she was startled, but then she enjoyed herself," the couturier said after Mrs. Hu toured an exhibition of 25 years of Saint Laurent's creations in Peking. — Reuter.

Heart troubles

THE world's longest living artificial heart recipient, William Schroeder, was undergoing tests yesterday to determine if the brain haemorrhage which caused him to be readmitted to a Louisville hospital had stopped, his doctors said. Mr. Schroeder, a retired munitions plant worker, became the second artificial heart patient 164 days ago. — Reuter.

Panama march

ABOUT 6,000 Panamanians marched through the streets of the capital on Monday, accusing the Government of corruption and charging that the military was running the country. Outside the American embassy, the demonstrators protested against what they said was US support for "the fraudulent military regime." — Reuter.



Unity call

A SENIOR Libyan official, Major Abdel-Salam Jalloud (above), who is visiting Khartoum, yesterday called for unity between Sudan and Libya. Major Jalloud, who is leading a 10-man delegation to Sudan, said that Egypt should also be involved. — Reuter.

Sailor held

A BRITISH sailor, Robert Heaton, accused of starting a fire on a freighter which killed three people will soon face charges of arson and probably manslaughter, court officials said yesterday in Taipei. Penalties for arson and manslaughter in Taiwan range from seven years to life imprisonment. — Reuter.

Mengele reward

ISRAEL is offering \$1 million reward for information leading to the capture of Josef Mengele, a Jewish doctor, who is accused of participating in the murder of 400,000 Jews during the Second World War. — Reuter.

For the record

THE recently released mercenary leader, Colonel Michael "Mad Mike" Hoare, said yesterday in South Africa that most of what had been written about a 1981 coup attempt in the Seychelles was rubbish. He was writing a book to set the record straight. — Reuter.

Moscow visit

THE Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, will pay a five-day visit to the Soviet Union on May 21. Mr. Gandhi will be accompanied by the Soviet leader, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, expected to discuss a wide range of bilateral and international issues. — AP.

Asylum sought

A SOVIET professor, Mr. Yuri Nagodsky, has applied for political asylum in Sweden after defecting from the Soviet Union via Finland. Police said yesterday in Stockholm. — Reuter.

WHO WILL DECIDE YOUR CHILDREN'S FUTURE?

If you live in Inner London, the answer is not very clear.

Because the proposed abolition of the GLC leaves a question mark over the future of the Inner London Education Authority. And so over the future of London's schools and London's children.

After abolition of the GLC, the Secretary of State will have the power to abolish the ILEA as well.

Without asking Londoners.

And without a new Bill.

We think this uncertainty is bad for ILEA and bad for the Londoners who elected ILEA.

The future of the GLC will be decided in this Parliament.

We think the future of London's education should be decided now as well.

For further information please phone 633 4400.

ANC goes for Iran-style popular uprising in tactics shift

By David Rabin
THE African National Congress has decided on a new strategy for long-term struggle, for small armed bands of youths to turn black townships into "no-go" areas for anything less than a huge police contingent, and for black police and soldiers to quit government service.

The new "call to the nation" by the exiled nationalist movement represents an important shift of tactics towards a popular Iran-style insurrection rather than a protracted people's war. The appeal to blacks, issued by the ANC headquarters in Lusaka, is being printed on underground presses in South Africa.

The implications of the call were spelled out in an interview by a Lusaka-based leading member of the ANC's Political Military Council (PMC) the

main body in charge of carrying out underground work in South Africa. "We believe a very rare combination of revolutionary factors are maturing before our very eyes. If the liberation opposition seizes this very important moment and builds upon it, the prospects of peoples' power is within our grasp... it is not longer a dream," he said.

He stressed that the ANC does not believe that revolution is just around the corner, nor has it abandoned the idea of a long-term struggle. But it believes that events in South Africa in past months, especially the collapse of the administration in black areas and the violent resistance, raise new and different possibilities for revolutionary change.

The seeds of a rare convergence of three factors without

which a society could seldom be changed, were developing in South Africa, he said. "Firstly, there is a regime and a ruling class in deep economic and political crisis, perhaps the deepest in its history. Secondly, there is the ferment among the people, who are showing that they want to reform but revolutionary solutions. They are demonstrating that they are ready to sacrifice their lives to bring this about and this provides a realistic foundation for transformation. Thirdly, a movement exists with an organised following to guide the build-up towards victory."

He went on: "The call contains new and far-reaching objectives which we believe are now realisable because of the astonishing speed with which the situation is changing. It remains true that the idea of a general insurrection as an immediate way forward cannot

replace the long-term perspective we have of protracted people's war. But we know that history sometimes has a funny way of departing from blueprints. We should certainly keep the lines open to other possibilities which the situation is opening up, particularly in the last three months.

"I believe the possibility of bringing about the collapse of the existing set-up in South Africa through the build-up of insurrectionary factors has never been as great as it is today."

The statement calls for people's committees to be set up as an alternative administration in black townships. It also appeals to black police and soldiers to cross to the black side and urges whites to refuse to serve as conscripts. The ANC believes that these are realistic demands. The

Second death expected to increase township tension

Student dies in custody of SA police

From Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

A black student leader has died in South African police custody, days after a trade unionist died of injuries apparently received while in police detention at the weekend.

Mr Sipho Mbuli, a branch organiser of the Congress of South African Townships, was arrested on May 4 in the Free State provincial town of Odendaalsburg, for questioning on "charges of public violence," police announced yesterday.

While sitting in a chair at the local police station he went into convulsions, a police spokesman said. He was admitted to hospital in Welkom, a nearby mining town, and was then transferred to Bloemfontein, where he died.

A post mortem examination was conducted yesterday by a state pathologist in the presence of another retained by Mr Mbuli's family.

The trade unionist, Mr Andries Raditsela, died on Monday in Soweto's Paragwanathi hospital, where he was admitted after being found lying unconscious at the administrative offices in the East Rand township of Tsakane on Saturday night.

An executive member of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), he had been detained in the township on Saturday in terms of the Internal Security Act, which allows police to detain anyone without charge for up to 90 days.

All charges against him were withdrawn hours before his death.

An independent pathologist found yesterday that Mr Raditsela died of a "sub-dural (brain) haemorrhage to the right side of his head and that the injury was 'consistent with a trauma'."

The pathologist was unable to establish the cause of the injury, but said it was consistent with either a blow or a fall.

A post mortem examination was performed in Soweto yesterday by both a state and a private pathologist representing the family.

The deaths and funerals of both men are certain to exacerbate the already volatile situation in black townships. Fosatu has said that "the circumstances of his death are shrouded in suspicion" and demanded that those responsible be brought to justice.

The Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, has appointed a senior police officer, Brigadier J. J. Viktor, to investigate Mr Raditsela's death as a "matter of urgency."

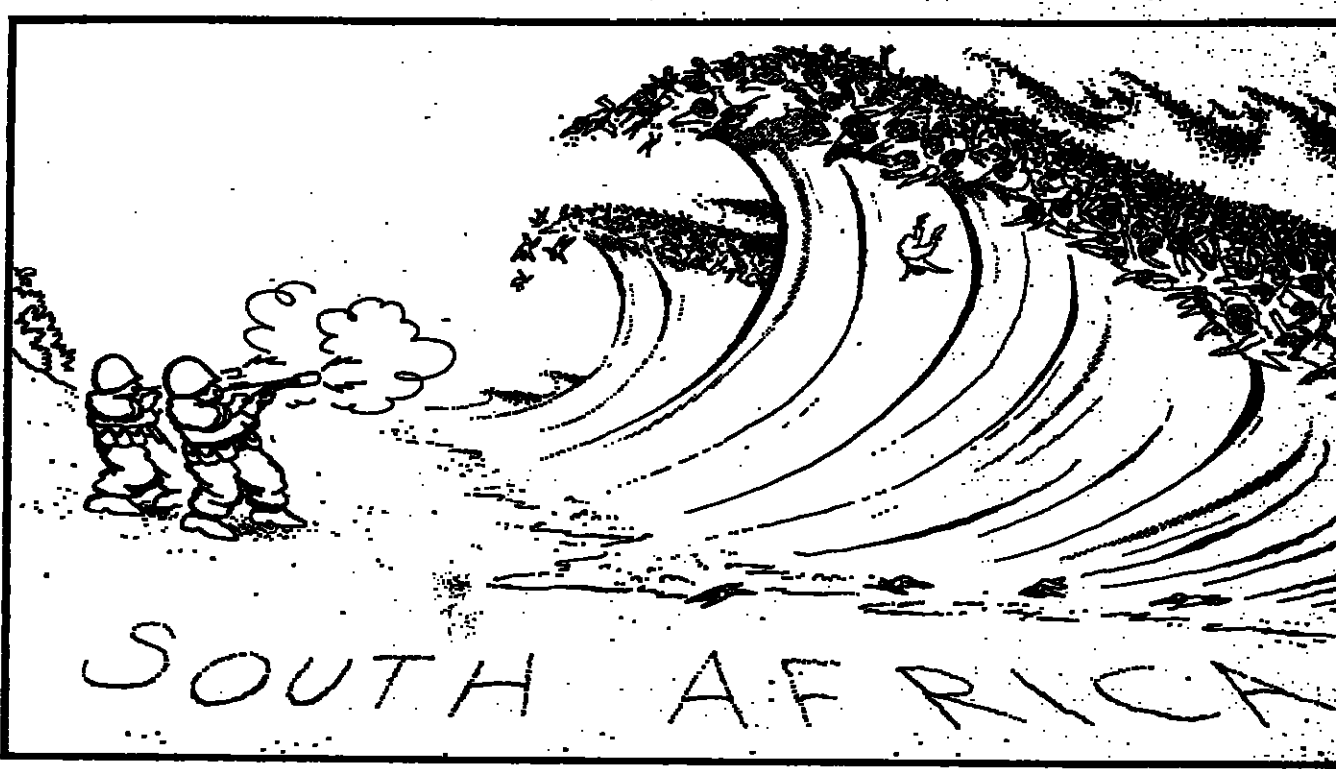
AP adds: A white soldier and four blacks, including a police officer, died overnight in riot-related incidents, the police and army said yesterday.

Violence between members of rival anti-apartheid organisations also continued yesterday. Mr Mandla Mswini, cultural secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), which espouses the Black Consciousness doctrine, suffered serious burns when a petrol bomb was thrown into the room where he was sleeping in a house east of Johannesburg.

Mr Eric Mahlati, general secretary of Azapo, said that Mr Mswini was in hospital with burns.

Azapo and the United Democratic Front are believed to be on the verge of striking a peace pact after weeks of attempts on one another's members.

Mr Mahlati was yesterday reluctant to blame the UDF for the attacks. The bombs, he said, could have been thrown "by a third party trying to jeopardise" the peace plans.



S. Africa migrant workers leave hostel after five days of fighting

From Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

More than 1,800 migrant workers yesterday left their hostel at the East Rand township of Tsakane after five days of bloody fighting with township residents.

At least 11 people died in running clashes between hostel-based migrants and family-based residents, although unconfirmed reports put the death toll at 16.

The migrant workers left their hostel yesterday following round table talks with Tsakane residents, the Tsakane Community Council, the divisional commissioner of police, and the MP for Springs, and the nearby white-designated town.

The conflict caused many Tsakane residents to stay away from work in Springs and neighbouring "white" towns in order to protect their homes and children against anticipated further attacks from migrant workers.

The violence was triggered on Saturday when young black militants decided to burn down a beer hall on their way back

from the funeral of an unrest victim.

Barricades were seen by black radicals as part of the "oppressive apartheid system" because profits obtained from the sale of liquor are used to finance the controversial government-created township councils.

The Tsakane beerhall is located next to the migrant worker hostel. The migrants objected to plans to burn it down.

According to some Tsakane residents, local police adopted a benevolently neutral attitude toward the first savage foray by the generally conservative migrant workers. But a police spokesman strongly repudiated the accusation, insisting that the police arrested all lawbreakers.

Unrest flared in several black townships yesterday, including Soweto where two blacks were killed. One of the victims was a young girl run down by a car that went out of control under a hail of stones. A man was killed when police opened fire on a crowd

with small shot and rubber bullets, a police spokesman said.

In Duduza township, east of Johannesburg, a 19-year-old woman died inside a home set alight by rioters throwing petrol bombs, a police spokesman said. A black man was stoned to death in Thabong township outside Welkom in Orange Free State.

A white soldier also died in a head-on collision between two army trucks on riot duty east of Johannesburg. The Government says more than 200 people have been killed in nine months of unrest, but opposition groups say well over 300 have died.

In Thabong township, near Welkom in the Free State, three black town councillors opened fire on a hostile crowd, wounding three black residents. The councillor, assisted by local residents, then arrested 10 of the attackers and handed them over to police.

Police were clearly pleased with the Thabong arrest, seeing it as evidence of the long-awaited backlash by township residents against "anarchy" a

backlash which some observers believe they tried to set in motion in Tsakane.

Yesterday's police "situation report" suggested that the nucleus of the unrest might be shifting away from the Eastern Cape to the densely populated Witwatersrand and, perhaps, the northern Free State.

The Ford Motor company believes South African blacks are "better off if we stay than if we leave," the chairman, Mr Donald Petersen, told shareholders in Detroit yesterday.

He said that while Ford management had a great deal of sympathy for many of the arguments against South African racial policies, it remained opposed to disinvestment as a method of eliminating discrimination against the black majority.

The New York City Employment Retirement System had proposed that Ford halt all sales to South African police or military until Pretoria officially committed itself to end apartheid and move toward political and legal equality for South Africa's 22 million blacks.

Help for Ghanaian refugees

Lagos: Ghana said it sent buses to the Nigerian border yesterday to pick up some of its citizens as Nigeria came under pressure to extend its Friday deadline for the repatriation of an estimated 700,000 illegal immigrants.

In a broadcast monitored in London, the state-controlled Accra Radio said 10 buses were sent to the Nigeria-Benin frontier to pick up at least a few hundred of the 6,000 deportees reportedly stranded without transport home.

The Organisation of African Trade Union Unity issued a statement at its Accra headquarters appealing to the Nigerian Government to extend the deadline and allow the deportees to take their belongings and money in accordance with international treaties.

The radio claimed that Nigerian border guards had seized money and belongings from deportees, leaving them with only mattresses and personal effects. It said some of the deportees were forced to leave their jobs without getting their salaries.

The Lagos Concord, an independent newspaper, said delays at the Benin border would likely force Nigeria to extend the deadline.

On Wednesday, convoys of up to 100 vehicles at a time crossed into Benin at Kalle and Igbo, most of them aiming to cross Benin and Togo to reach Ghana.

The migrants queued for several hours before being searched by Nigerian troops and customs officials to make sure they were not carrying more than 20 naira (\$17) the law allows.

In Niger, Nigeria's northern neighbour, news reports said migrants were arriving at the Niger-Nigeria border near Sokoto by the hundreds day and night. But there were no official estimates of the number leaving Nigeria, many were believed to be using footpaths to cross the borders without formalities.

About 300,000 aliens reportedly are from Ghana and 100,000 are from Niger. The remainder are from Togo, Chad, Cameroon and Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta). — AP.

Suicide bomber kills three

Tel Aviv: Three people were killed in an apparent suicide bombing yesterday, when a suitcase packed with explosives and carried by a woman blew up near the entrance to Israel's security zone in southern Lebanon. An Israeli military source said.

The source said that troops of the Israeli-backed South Lebanon Army spotted the woman with the suitcase approaching their checkpoint at Hatzaba, 10 miles north of the border. He said that when they approached her, the suitcase exploded, killing the woman, one soldier, and his wife.

Israel has imposed strict security measures in the border zone, in an effort to foil suicide bombings, who have killed more than 400 Israelis in this year. Night travel has been banned, and the army has said there must be two people in every vehicle, which must travel in convoys of two.

It has also dug up the entrance to the border zone enough to prevent suicide bombers from driving across the frontier.

Snipers yesterday fanned out to reopen a single crossing along the Green Line between East and West Beirut after a week of Christian-Muslim fighting.

Police said that two cars dashed on the crossing after it was declared open yesterday morning under a ceasefire agreement, but no more drivers risked the journey before the route was shut again, less than four hours later.

Rifle shots cracked out over the no-man's-land between Christian and Muslim barricades at the crossing's eastern and western ends.

The setback indicated continuing tension between Muslim militias holding West Beirut and Christian militiamen and troops on the eastern side of the line. Seventy people have been killed, and hundreds wounded, in the worst sectarian fighting in Beirut for nearly a year.

The PLO chairman, Mr Arafat, arrived in Peking yesterday as part of efforts to rally support for an international conference on Palestine. He flew in with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation at the start of a drive to lobby the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.

Mr Arafat, accompanied by the Jordanian Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Abdul-Wahab al-Majali, is due to meet the Chinese Prime Minister, Mr Zhao Ziyang, today, a PLO spokesman said. — Reuters.

Shultz on visit to Israel

Lisbon: The US Secretary of State, Mr Shultz, begins his first visit to the Middle East in nearly two years today to explore ways to advance the US aim of direct negotiations between the Arabs and the Israelis.

He departed for Israel after accompanying President Reagan on his European tour, which ends here today.

The visit will include stops in Cairo and Amman for talks with leaders there. Mr Shultz then flies to Vienna for a meeting with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Gromyko.

This Middle East trip follows two weeks of talks in the region last month by the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr Richard Murphy, that failed to achieve any breakthrough in efforts to assemble an Arab negotiating delegation acceptable to both Arabs and Israelis.

King Hussein and President Mubarak have urged the United States to take a more active role in the stalled Middle East peace process. As a start they have called for an American meeting with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation.

The main stumbling block has been US insistence that the PLO should not be directly represented at such talks so long as it does not specifically accept UN Security Council resolution on the Arab-Israeli conflict and recognise Israel's right to exist.

A so-called joint framework for peace signed in February by King Hussein and Mr Arafat falls short of accepting those conditions, but also calls for an international conference on the Middle East that would include the Soviet Union — a move opposed by the United States and Israel. — Reuters.

June poll in Cyprus

Nicosia: The Turkish-Cypriot Constituent Assembly decided yesterday to hold presidential elections in northern Cyprus on June 9. The community's leader, Mr Denktash, has said he will stand for re-election as president of the breakaway Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which is recognised only by Turkey. He is expected to have at least two challengers. — Reuters.

Seven die in Indian violence

New Delhi: Troops restored order to the west Indian city of Ahmedabad yesterday after a night of riots between Hindus and Muslims in which seven people were killed and 20 injured.

An indefinite curfew was in force in the city's old quarter which was hit by violent clashes involving stabbings, shotgun blasts, and barrages of acid-filled light bulbs and rocks.

The violence ended a week of calm in Gujarat State where 64 people have been killed in two months of protests against a government policy reserving jobs and college places for lower caste Hindus and other backward economic groups.

Police reinforcements broke up the rioters with teargas. But the rioters went on to rooftops and continued fighting each other and firing on police.

Police and troops opened fire on the rioters several times but it was nearly four hours before fighting died down. — Reuters.

New crisis as Kanak MPs quit

Noumea: The constitutional crisis deepened in New Caledonia yesterday when moderate deputies representing indigenous Kanaks walked out of the Territorial Assembly in protest at racial violence in which a youth was shot dead and 95 people were injured.

The six members of the Kanak Socialist Liberation Party said they could no longer govern with the white anti-independence party, which they blamed for the street battles between white settlers and Kanaks in the capital on Wednesday. The Kanak withdrawal leaves the assembly in the hands of the rightwing Gaullist party, which is dominated by white settlers.

'Tanaka paralysed' report as officials say he is recovering

From Robert Whyman in Tokyo

The mystery surrounding the illness of the former Prime Minister Mr Tanaka deepened yesterday, with a report that Japan's most powerful political figure was at home and in poor health.

This conflicted with a statement the same day that Mr Tanaka was in good health and steadily recovering from a severe infection suffered in late February. It also contradicted the general belief that he was still in hospital, and added to the uncertainty of whether he could maintain his dominance of Japan's ruling party.

Later the two men, after returning home to Niigata, were reported to have made their remarks.

Intense speculation about the condition of Mr Tanaka, who led Japan in the early 1970s, reached fever pitch this week. On Sunday, his secretary said he had secretly left hospital and returned home for a few days the previous week. The fact that he had eluded the media and TV crews besieging the hospital he entered on February 27 heightened the temperature.

On Wednesday, Tokyo was awash with rumours of Mr Tanaka's death — denied by the Prime Minister, Mr Nakasone, and foreign exchange dealers predicted that the yen would weaken if Mr Tanaka died, because of the political uncertainty that would ensue.

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TV viewers watch bird massacre

Canberra: The bird-trapper he hits them twice it becomes illegal.

A government spokesman said that laws preventing the export of live birds would not be changed, because it was impossible to capture the large numbers necessary to solve farmers' problems.

Mr Ackroyd said that farmers killed crop-eating birds by slow poisoning, and that clubbing them once with a solid block was more humane because they died within two minutes.

The trapper said that his licence had allowed him to snare almost a million birds a year, most of which he set free and some of which he kept for sale to pet shops.

The country's main animal welfare body, the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, has long been a supporter of the export of live birds. — Reuters.

Mr Ackroyd, with his pet cockatoo, at Parliament House, Canberra. The bodies of other cockatoos he has slaughtered lie behind him.



Law and disorder

From Richard Yallop in Melbourne

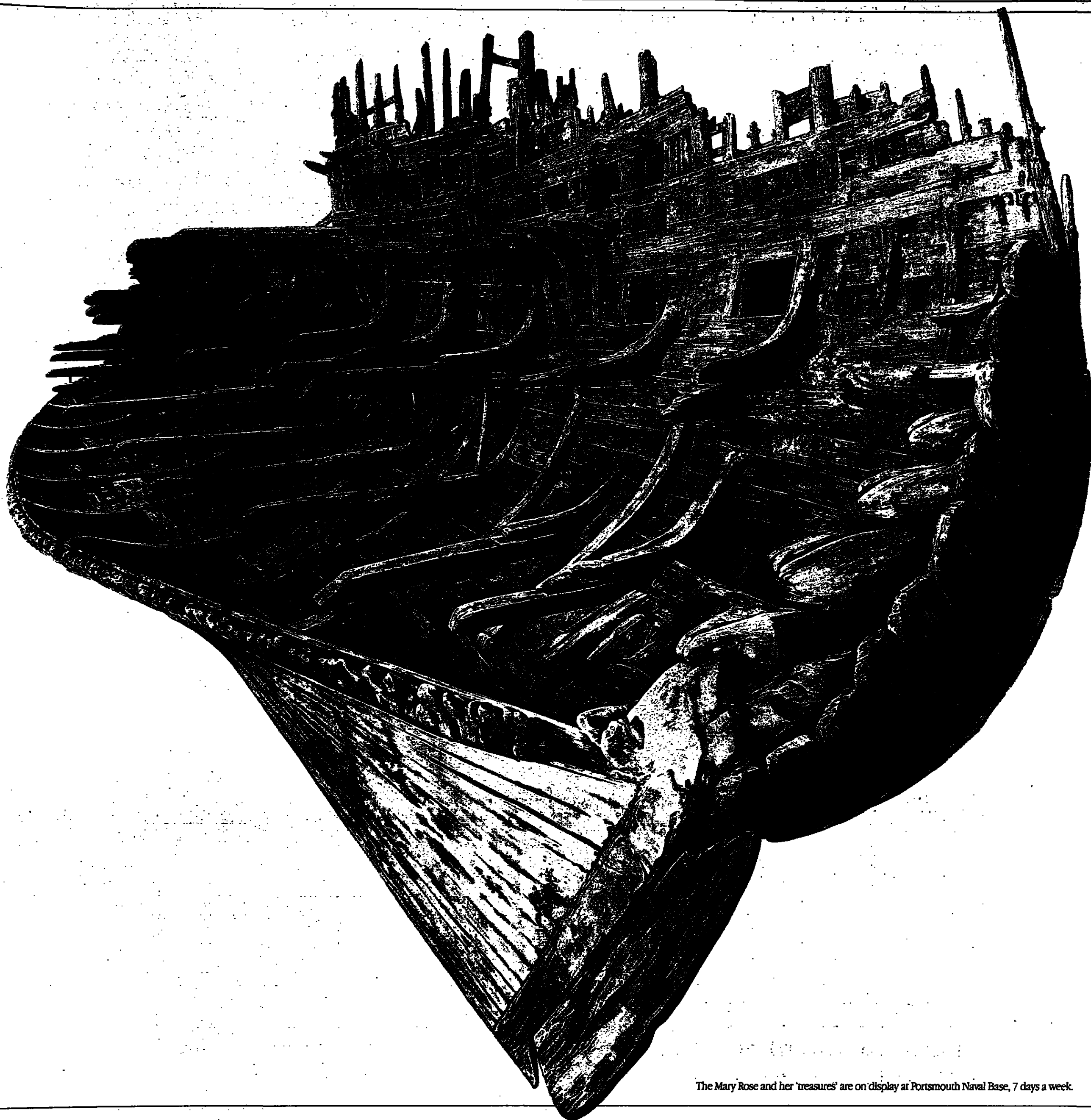
The latest in a series of bungles by Australia's anti-terrorist forces led to two innocent passers-by being seized at gunpoint in the street and interrogated by masked security men on a training exercise.

The men who were held for 15 minutes during the week-end incident in Sydney before being released, were apparently mistaken for police playing the part of terrorists in the exercise, which involved state police and the crack Special Air Services regiment.

Unfortunately for the anti-terrorist squad, one of the men, Mr Peter Ballard, was a solicitor. He complained to his local MP, Mr Peter Baldwin, who then wrote a letter of protest to the Defence Minister, Mr Kim Beazley.

The exercise involved the simulated seizure of a ship loaded with uranium moored in Sydney harbour.

A year ago, workers on a Bass Strait oil rig claimed that they were terrorised by SAS troopers.



The Mary Rose and her 'treasures' are on display at Portsmouth Naval Base, 7 days a week.

AT LEAST SHE'LL STAY IN BETTER SHAPE OVER THE NEXT 500 YEARS.

Poor old Mary Rose has had quite a bit to contend with, these last five centuries.

When she went down, on a sparkling summer's morning in 1545, she was the jewel in the crown of Henry VIII's Navy.

But her 91 guns were no match for the ruthless onslaught of the murderous currents that flow beneath the Solent.

A deep scourpit was eroded on the port side of the hull.

The currents then relentlessly shrouded her in a thick layer of silt.

By the early eighteenth century a hard layer of shelly clay had sealed the once proud warship in her watery grave.

On October 11th 1982, a salvage operation on a scale never before attempted brought the forlorn remains of the Mary Rose to the surface.

Not only the hull, but a host of precious artefacts that tell of life in Tudor England were rescued from the muddy sea-bed. But in the process of drying them out they could easily be harmed or destroyed.

In order to preserve them, we gave the Mary Rose Trust a chemical solution called polyethylene glycol. Once these items (such as wooden bowls and leather shoes) have been soaked in this solution, they undergo a freeze-drying process that

will carefully preserve them for posterity.

At the same time, the bulk of the hull is sprayed with water to stop it from drying out, and to prevent microbiological decay.

After two years of this treatment a lengthy round-the-clock spraying of an ethylene glycol will begin, before the hull is left to dry out.

The whole process to preserve the Mary Rose will take about twelve or fifteen years to complete.

But in the extraordinary life history of the Mary Rose that's just a drop in the ocean.

YOU CAN BE SURE OF SHELL



Britain to back renewal of MFA, says Channon

TRADE

By Alan Travis

The Trade Minister, Mr Paul Channon, yesterday announced that the British Government will next year seek the renewal of the Multi-Fibre Arrangement (MFA), which protects EEC markets from Third World imports of textiles and clothing.

Mr Channon said during a Commons debate on the MFA that it would be quite wrong to end 10 years of protection of the British textile and clothing industries with a sudden jolt.

A further period of protection would give the British industries time to establish their international competitiveness, not only against developing countries, but also against the developed nations.

The British Government is the first of all the signatories to the MFA to indicate its position on whether the agreement should be renewed when it expires at the end of July, 1986.

The MFA is under attack from supplying countries such as Hong Kong, South Korea and India, who want it ended next year.

An independent report, the Filbertson report, has estimated that 50,000 jobs could be lost in this country by ending the MFA. But it said that the agreement raised the price of clothing in this country by about 5 per cent and argued that ending the MFA would lead to a net gain in jobs as consumers would have more money to spend on other goods.

Mr Channon acknowledged the agreement at the Bonn summit and said that any renewal of the MFA would be a transitional measure.

"Some of our European Community partners may press for a prior commitment that thereafter all special restrictions on textile and clothing trade would come to an end. I think it would be premature to give such a commitment unconditionally at this stage, because it is a matter that will have to be negotiated in the coming round of talks on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade," he said.

He said that there would have to be other more liberal arrangements than the present ones and some quotas should be dispensed with.

"I accept indications that the restrictions have borne especially heavily on the price of children's clothes, and we shall be seeking to liberalise these where administratively practical."

The announcement was greeted with cheers and relief by many of the MPs in the chamber. More than 30 members, many of them from Yorkshire, Humberside and the East Midlands, where the textile, clothing and footwear industries are concentrated, had put down their names to speak in the debate.

"It is sadly typical of the Transport Secretary that, having flouted the law on the

Powell measure looks doomed

By Colin Brown

VIRTUALLY the last chance of Mr Enoch Powell's private bill to ban experiments on embryos reaching the statute book disappeared yesterday with the refusal of Miss Janet Fookes, the Tory MP for Plymouth, Drake, to drop her own bill in the Commons today.

Miss Fookes said that she had not been approached by Mr Powell's supporters but although she supported his bill she would not make way for it by removing from the list in the Commons her own measure to outlaw kerb-crawling.

The bill's supporters yesterday tabled a Commons motion supported by 108 MPs, including the Liberal chief whip, Mr Alan Beith, urging the Government to enable the remaining stages of the bill to be given the necessary time to pass through the Commons.

The Leader of the House, Mr John Biffen, who also supports the bill, has made it clear, along with the Prime Minister, that this would be a breach with convention.

GLC bill—new defeat

HOUSE OF LORDS

By our Political Staff

THE HOUSE OF LORDS last night rejected an appeal by the Environment Minister, Lord Elton, and inflicted a third embarrassing defeat on the Government on the Local Government Bill, which will abolish the Greater London Council and the six metropolitan county councils.

Peers rejected plans to hand waste disposal functions over to the successor borough and district councils — and by 170 to 166 (majority 4) scrapped a whole clause from the bill.

Conservative backbencher, the Earl of Cranbrook, suggested non-elected city-wide authorities for London and the counties should deal with commercial and hazardous waste disposal.

The defeat is yet another serious blow to the Govern-

ment, which has been marshalling supporters this week in a bid to avoid further embarrassments over the bill. Without a vote, peers agreed to the establishment of a new body — the London Waste Disposal Authority — to take over the functions.

The Lords have already thrown out plans to hand over the highway and nature conservancy functions to the lower tier authorities — in favour of new strategic bodies to run the services.

Last night peers from all sides of the House voiced fears over the handling of waste in the capital and the large provincial cities, after abolition. There was concern that the government proposals involved voluntary arrangements rather than compulsory powers.

Lord Cranbrook, chairman of a Lords Select Committee on science and technology, which rejected the Government plans over waste, said: "This is essentially a func-

tion of local government, and should not be split up between the councils."

Lord Elton said: "We are not in the business of creating a lesser form of the authorities. We are now abolishing the GLC and the MCCs, which this House has already decided."

Mr John Gurnell, the leader of West Yorkshire Council, spokesman for the metropolitan councils, said after the vote: "It is another good result fitting into the pattern in which the Lords have sought to retain the services of the Metropolitan Councils and countywide services."

This vote was a direct result of the select committee's recommendation to Greater London Council and West Yorkshire Council to set up a joint waste authority.

Ministers do not regard these proposals as changes over other arrangements such as trading waste and hazardous waste, which can be done through a local authority.



Lord Elton's appeal failed to win the day.

been devolved to the district councils, the Government will face serious problems with the emasculated bill.

Ridley drops controversial Civil Aviation Bill

AIRPORTS

By Alan Travis

The Transport Secretary, Mr Nicholas Ridley, faced renewed embarrassment last night when he announced his decision to drop the controversial civil Aviation Bill, through a writ-

ten Commons answer.

The bill was to give the Government power to restrict air traffic movements at Heathrow to 275,000 a year.

Mr Ridley had already been forced to delay debate on the bill when more than 100 Conservative MPs staged a rebellion last November in the belief that it would pre-empt a

decision on Stansted airport terminal at Heathrow plan.

Mr Ridley said that he was not in a position to announce the decision to drop the bill. He said that he was not in a position to announce the decision to drop the bill.

in the Commons that the manner of the announcement was a gross discourtesy to the Commons. The committee examining the bill was to meet next week and had not yet been told of the decision to drop the bill. Mr Snape accused Mr Ridley of attempting to sneak through decisions by using written Commons answers.

NEXT WEEK

Move to amend Rent Act

By Colin Brown

MR MICHAEL Mates, a senior Conservative backbencher, will be attempting to change the law on the right of householders to claim back their property from their tenants when they return from abroad with a private bill in the Commons on Tuesday.

The bill to amend the Rent Act after a case in his Hampshire East constituency is likely to secure all-party backing and should reach the statute book, provided that there are no attempts to block it. It will overturn a judgment in the House of Lords denying a family the right to take over their house from tenants who took their letting from an agency rather than direct from the family.

Another Private Member's Bill is likely to cause a stir on Wednesday because it will be accompanied by a mass lobby of Parliament by young people. The bill, by Liberal MP, Mr



Mr Richard Ottaway

Clement Freud, is one of a series of measures by the Liberals on Youth policy which include votes for 16-year-olds. Mr Freud's measure will help the young handicapped. Liberal peers have chosen for their debate on Wednesday the topical subject of postal ballots for trade union elections. So far, the independent peer Lord (Frank) Chapple has not put his name down to speak.

The controversy over the National Council for Civil Liberties is likely to dominate the debate on civil liberties initiated on Monday by the Tory backbencher, Mr Richard Ottaway (Nottingham N). The Liberal spokesman, Mr Alex Carlile, decided not to resign from the council because he believes it is more important to stay to get rid of the block vote within the NCCL and to write into its constitution the need to include in British law the European Convention on Human Rights.

The recently formed Commons all-party race relations group, chaired by Clare Short, the Labour MP for Ladywood, may choose to raise the criticism it made yesterday of the Home Office rules on immigration marriage. They protested that many genuine couples were being separated by the rules.

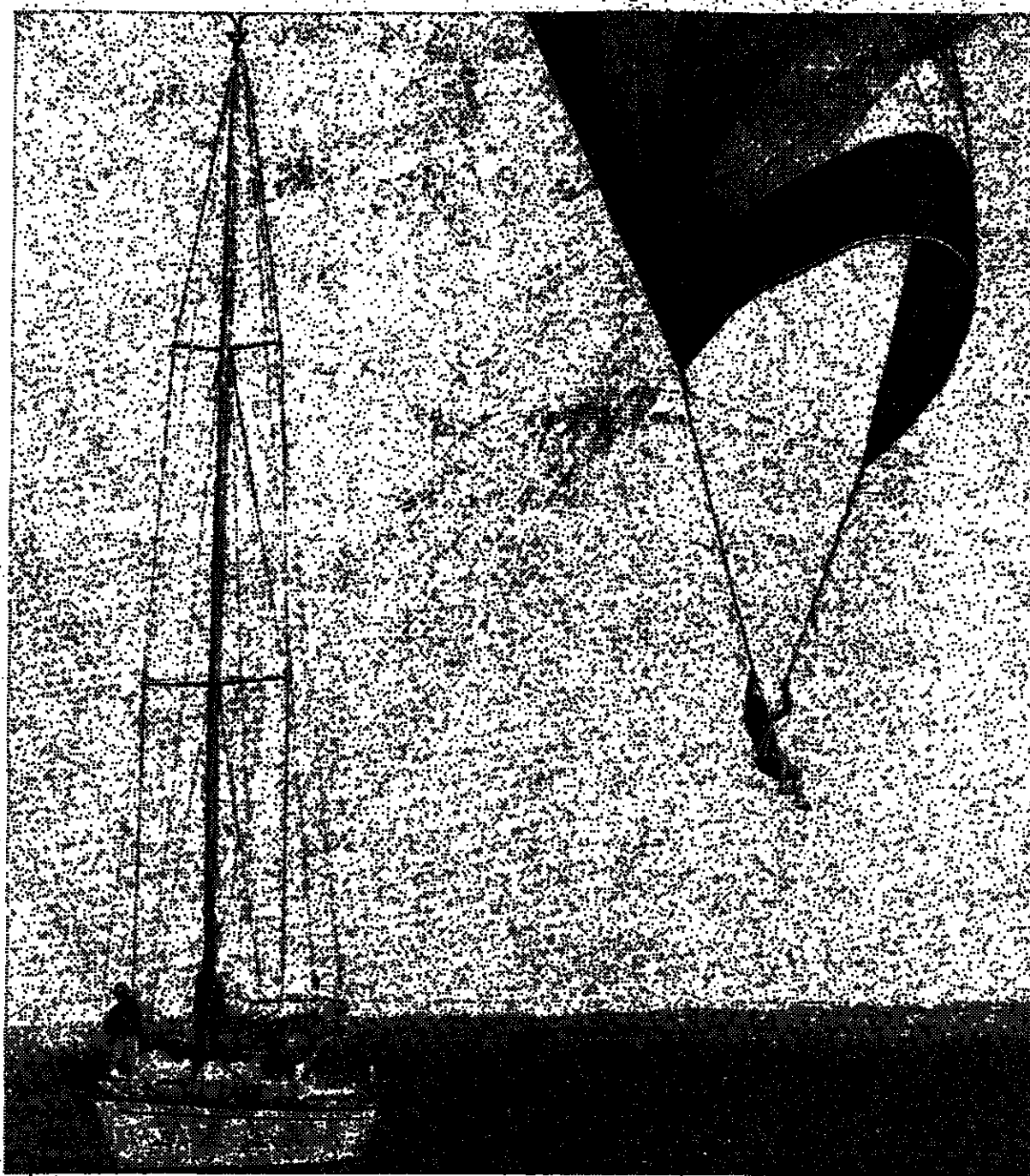
PM's QUESTIONS

Jobs: only answer

THE Prime Minister insisted in the Commons yesterday that there was "no other answer" to Britain's unemployment problem than the creation of more small businesses. Over-manning was not the answer to the problem. Mrs Thatcher declared in response to Question Time criticism from Labour's Mr Ray Powell (Gomere).

Tory MPs were as anxious as any others to increase the number of jobs, said Mrs Thatcher. But she added: "They do not come merely by sharing out the number of jobs among more people, because that of course would mean lowering the wage as one increased the number of employed. I do not believe that over-manning is the answer to our problems."

The answer came from "increasing the numbers of small businesses and thereby increasing the numbers of businesses that can expand and take on more people." To Labour protests, she added: "There is no other answer in the long run to getting more jobs."



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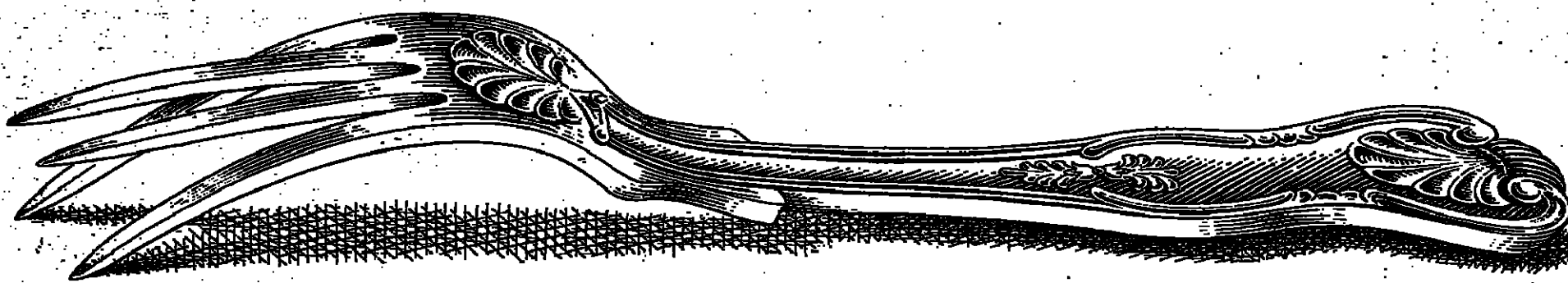
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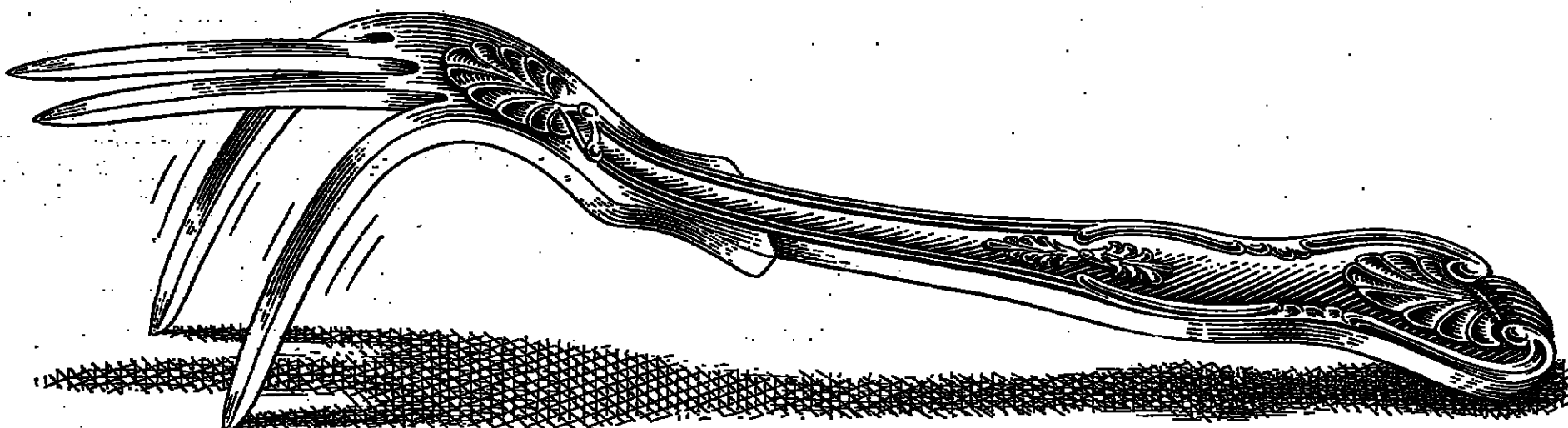
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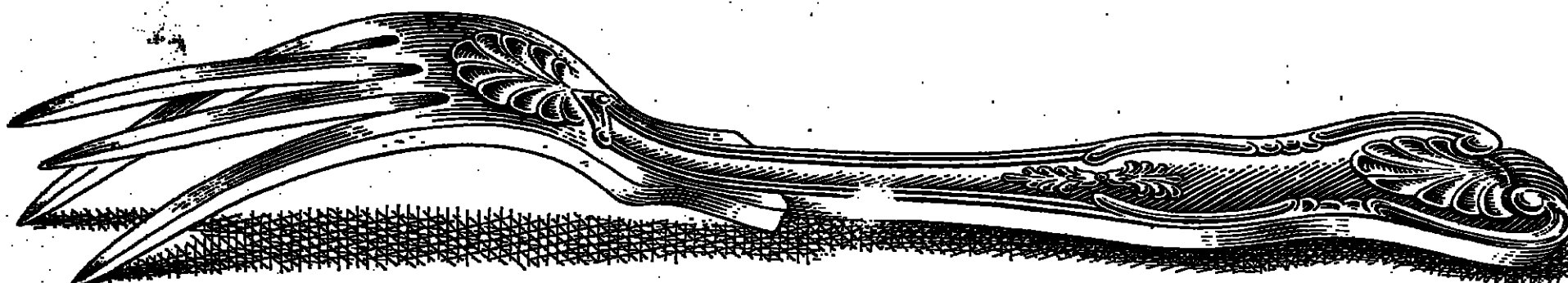
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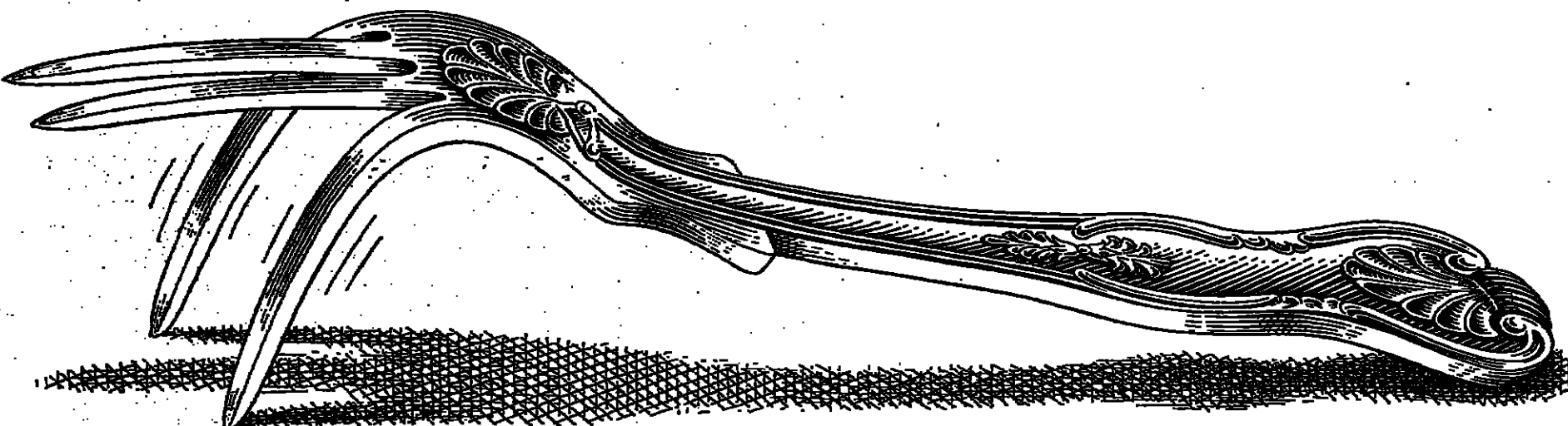
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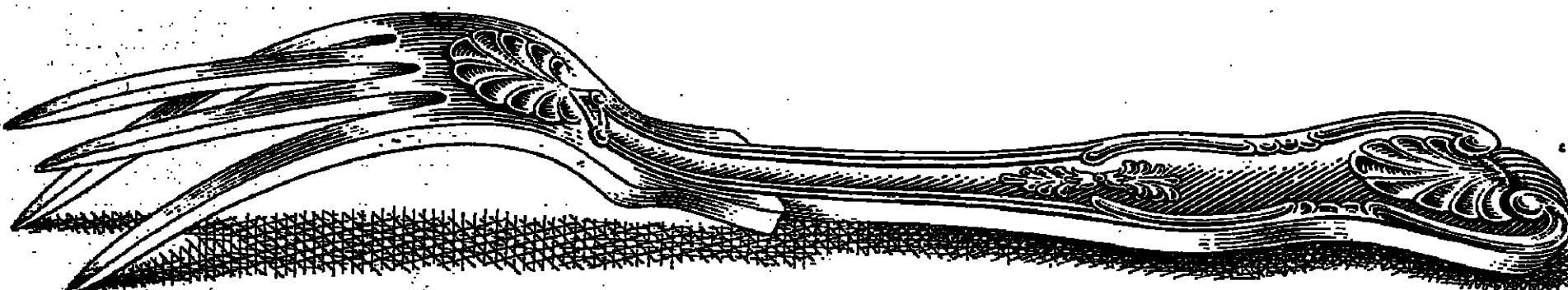
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THE OBSERVER

AUBERON WAUGH

on the Prince of Wales:

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DANIEL FARSON

on Francis Bacon:

"...because his face is unfamiliar, it is possible to drink with him in a pub where he is so unknown that he was offered a job decorating a house when someone heard he was a painter."

PATRICK MARNHAM

on the Vatican:

"For the Vatican, the last news story was the life and death of Jesus Christ. The next news story will be Armageddon."

PETER ACKROYD

on 'The Cotton Club':

"The script stays on much the same level, combining juvenility and banality: 'You move me,' Richard Gere announces to a lady, 'in unusual places.' Perhaps he meant his socks."

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Michael Billington reports from the Brighton Festival

King of the clowns

THEY ARE sending in the clowns at this year's Brighton Festival. The influence of commedia dell'arte is the theme. And while this produces some interesting exhibitions (such as one of theatrical masks made by the Sartori Family), it raises the whole question of whether the commedia tradition ever took root in Britain and also leads to some convenient shoe-horning. Even Alfred Jerry's 1899 play *Ubu Enchained* has been re-christened *Ubu and The Clowns* in the Actors Touring Company version at the Gardner Centre; and while the production has a far-fetched grotesquerie, it is rather more than a simple clown-show. In *Ubu Roi* Jerry satirised totalitarian rapacity in this sequel his target is bourgeois freedom. Individualism, he suggests, leads to conformity: free will, in consequence, can only be exercised through slavery. So we see Pa and Ma Ubu on the run from Poland arriving in the land of the free (France in the original, hints of America here) where the monster-rejoices in the role of footman-polisher, lackey and whipped slave.

The problem is that once the population see the benefits of subservience (for Pa Ubu colour telly and 12 meals a day after he is slapped in the face they try to emulate his example. The climax becomes a lunatic rush towards the galleys of Solomon the Turk with the whole cast dragging along their iron ball and chain in an effort to beat Pa Ubu in the race to slavery.

The concept of freedom is certainly worth intelligent scrutiny. But Jerry's play, written during the licensed gaiety of the Belle Époque, seems to me to produce of the very thing it is attacking: a smug bourgeois society allows itself the luxury of a little anarchic subversion. I doubt whether Ubu's cry of 'Slavery, the only freedom' would have gone down very well with a Russian peasant or an American black.

Jerry also never gets far beyond naive schoolboy paradox: once he has launched the idea that captivity is liberty and slavery is dominance he has nothing much more to tell us. What saves the play from banality is the wildness of his imagination and his ability to create a Lewis Carroll-world where parade-ground squaddies carry out the reverse of every order, and where defendants in the dock ardently crave punishment.

John Retallack's production (based on the Simon Watson translation) matches this with its own insane inventiveness, not least in a very funny ballroom scene where Strauss waltzes are executed on an extremely strewn floor and where a grotesque guest-list is read out to a cascade of balloons.

The production is pitched halfway between European surrealism and English pantomime with Chris Barnes, marble-eyed and wind-breaking, prominently revelling in Pa Ubu and Alison Peckles, constantly fashing per purple drawers, a suitably disgusting mate.

Paddy Fletcher as a judge, fiscally donning the black cap for execution, also evokes chilling memories for me of once seeing a Lord Chief Justice do the same thing with due sobriety. The show deserves a bigger audience than it got at the Gardner Centre; but it doesn't persuade me that Jerry's play is more than an obscene doodle in the margins of bourgeois society.

Robert DE NIRO Meryl STREEP



Falling in LOVE

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Donald Wintersgill on how John Ruskin's treasures returned to Sheffield

For Ruskin and St George

ONE of John Ruskin's visionary schemes for education and reform through art has miraculously survived and been reborn in Sheffield, where it was founded. It is the Museum of St George, owned by the Guild of St George, both were founded by him to foster the 'liberal education of the artisan.'

The museum has been rehoused in a former wine lodge. This is appropriate, because Ruskin's father, from whom he inherited a fortune, was a wine merchant. The building is small and can show only a small part of the collection at one time but its first exhibition faithfully follows Ruskin's ideas in looking at form, colour, and structure. The exhibits are accompanied by passages of commentary from Ruskin's writings.

The museum was to be an inspiration. To it he gave illuminated

manuscripts, minerals, copies of Old Master pictures, coins, photographs, plaster casts of Gothic ornament, paintings commissioned by him to illustrate his theories of beauty, and a few of his own original works.

Why Sheffield for the museum? The city was industrialised and ugly, but surrounded by wonderful countryside; Ruskin admired the skills of the metal workers; and one of his disciples, Henry Swan, lived there.

The museum was set up first in a little house at Walkley, outside the city, which was then starved of culture and of visual joys. People flocked to it from far and wide. Sheffield Council gave the museum another, bigger home in 1890: part of a large house, Meersbrook Hall in the city. This was more accessible, and 61,000 people visited it in 1891-2.

And so matters stood until the 1950s. But the museum belonged to the Guild and was only leased to the council. And in the 1950s Ruskin's reputation was at a low ebb: he was too Victorian. The museum was closed. Major items were put on show in the Sheffield City Art Galleries and the rest into store, although a couple of exhibitions were sent on tour.

Most of the collection was taken to Reading University and, again, much of it was put into store; the best was kept on show in Sheffield because Reading was unable to insure it. Ruskin's dream almost died. In 1975 the Guild of St George sold the collection's Madonna and Child by Andrea del Verrocchio, to the National Gallery of Scotland for £380,000, to the distress of many people. Ruskin would have poured forth all his petulant sarcasm, his

elegant invective, against the sale. The whole collection, in a sense, revolved round the painting. The Guild did however put the money to some good use in promoting its work.

To the rescue of the Museum of St George came the modern equivalents of private patrons: the Museums and Galleries Commission, the Area Museum and Art Gallery Service for Yorkshire and Humberside, the Crafts Council, and Sheffield City Council. The Guild of St George also helped. Ruskin, who gave away his inherited fortune, would at least have been pleased at that.

The building, in Norfolk Street in the centre of the city, had been adorned with ironwork by Giuseppe Lund and carving by David Kindersley and his associates.

GLASGOW

Gerald Lerner

Orlando



Stephen Varcoe in Orlando.

WITH so many of the Glasgow audience alienated by Scottish opera's Don Giovanni, *Orlando* was rather late to take offence, considering how long the company has been exhibiting menopausal symptoms — Christopher Fettes' production of *Orlando* is a timely corrective. It is by no means conventional but it is also intelligent, thoroughly professional and remarkably elegant to the eye.

The elegance is largely a matter of Antony McDonald's designs, of course — the Hogarth in the costumes and the fastidious, the handsome balustrade set. But it is also in just about every movement on the stage. The blind Eros figure never stumbles behind his graceful white stick, the progress of Orlando's madness is represented in ballet sequences with Ian Spink. In Bedlam, whither Orlando is banished in the last act, nurses join the patients in therapeutic dances.

The curious exception is that Lillian Watson, one of the prettiest of British opera singers, is given an ugly limp. Happily her singing as the peasant girl Dorinda, betrays no corresponding disfigurement. Indeed, under the inspired direction of Richard Hickox the musical performance is distinguished in general.

As Orlando, James Bowman is in exceptionally good voice and suffers only a few breathing problems in a testing and beautifully alto part. Timothy Wilson as his effective young rival Medorus has rather more difficulty in a higher range: the part might be more suitable for a female alto but it would not have carried the same psychological conviction in that case. Eiddwen Harbry as Angelica is as secure and as stylish as ever in these Handel roles.

The magic figure, Zoroastro, stands apart from the rest. He is authoritatively represented here by Stephen Varcoe, whose appearance in this role has a strange resemblance to that of John Cox, artistic director

of Scottish opera. "As guardian of your glory I have been watching over your madness," he sings, "and shall restore you to reason." Let's hope so.

RFH/RADIO 3
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Stern

THE three-week American festival opened quietly with one of the more restrained Bernstein works, *Facsimile* is drawn from a ballet written in 1946 after *Fancy Free* and well before *West Side Story* — in which Bernstein's love for Copland is reflected in a quietly ruminative prologue and epilogue with clear wide-spaced harmonies, chastely lyrical and with lively syncopations in the central section.

Bernstein's best scores have more red blood in them, but *Facsimile* won admiration for total command of the medium and for an ease of manner and movement which many more profound composers might envy.

There was ease of manner too in Isaac Stern's Mendelssohn's *Violin Concerto*, which started in routine manner but warmed up to a performance full of interest.

His response to the woodwind's theme in the first movement was conditioned by their version of it, the cadenza was thrown off almost casually, but the coda to the first movement taken with great ardour.

Only a great violinist can handle the familiar theme of the slow movement so simply and naturally yet so expressively. The last went at a true vivace, yet Stern found plenty of room for expression and nuance.

The orchestra had so far been on their best behaviour, certainly nothing to object to, but the rendition of character either in Dvorak's Eighth Symphony, the St Louis players revealed warm and romantic souls. Leonard Slatkin's very slow speed for the opening cello theme made me fear that we were in for an over-elastic performance, but there were few indulgences thereafter, though plenty of flexibility in the handling of the lyrical tunes.

The orchestra is not of overwhelming power or particularly lustrous tone, but the ensemble is always well-balanced, performances alert and gives the impression of genuine musical intelligence, with good solo playing all round with a very nice violin solo from the leader in the second movement.

The programme, however, neither individual players nor leader — a singularly mean trick to play on a visiting orchestra at the start of a festival.

Val Arnold-Forster on the disdain of dons and dames

An alpha plus put-down

FOR THE ultimate put-down, there's nothing like an elderly Oxford don. Take, for instance, that pair of eminent lady scientists in *The Thatcher Phenomenon* (Radio 4, Sundays and Mondays). They were: considering, with mild academic disdain, a previous pupil, one Margaret Roberts.

Nobel Prize-winner Dorothy Hodgkin: "You could rely on her producing a sensible, well-read essay, but there was always something that some people had that she hadn't got." Dame Janet Vaughan: "A perfectly good second-class chemist — a Beta chemist — she wasn't an interesting person, except as a Conservative."

I would never, if I had a mind, have thought of asking Margaret Thatcher, because she wasn't interesting to talk to.

These weren't a couple of old tabbies picking enviously on a successful rival: both of them, as we've heard for ourselves in recent programmes, are extremely distinguished, much honoured and friendly, compassionate women.

We're told that Mrs Thatcher and her aides are

none too pleased by this series. Spoilsports. The first programme was, as its title *To The Manner Born*, echoing another comedy series, predicted half-an-hour of knock-about comedy. With plenty of knocks. Even the praise was double-edged. We heard about her obduracy, her determination, her inability to delegate — though I rather liked the story of Mrs T leaving her ministerial desk to put on her hat (and gloves) so that she, rather than some underling, could buy Dennis's breakfast bacon.

She was, we heard from civil servants and politicians, argumentative, unable to admit uncertainty, lacking in breadth of outlook and with "an invincible complacency about her ignorance."

No sense of humour, of course. Even her admirer, Reagan, told of her upstaging one of his jokes, and an old friend "wouldn't make a joke in her presence that might possibly reflect on her."

Mrs Castle saw her as "in love with power, success and with herself," and a predecessor in university politics remembered her well, starting with her appearance: "I

remember her as a brown girl, with an attractive head of brown hair."

However, Mrs Mary Baker, a Tory Lady Rampant, thought that Mrs Thatcher was "obviously" the best role-model for women today in an entertaining little exchange in *Any Questions?* (Radio 4, Fridays & Saturdays). Jim Prior thought otherwise, and Roy Hattersley and Oliver Wakelin didn't believe in role-models anyway. Mrs Baker regretted that, with the advent of large mixed schools, we're losing headmistresses — "examples of senior, mature, intelligent and powerful women."

No one mentioned the Queen; and presumably Tory ladies can be divided into those who'd choose Mrs T or HM as role-model. On the *Way We Were* (Radio 4, Wednesday), the Queen told or, rather, read a pleasant little account of herself and her sister wandering among the crowds on VE Day. It wasn't unlike all those other tales of relief, happiness and jolly encounters on VE Day, but made distinctively real by the domestic reference to Buckingham Palace: "we sent a message into the house."

And the victims of what you might call non-consensual abuse are younger. Abuse by friends, neighbours, brothers, fathers can start much earlier — it sounded almost like a Dutch auction as the girls told their stories, 10, eight, six. So far, police have found a child of two had gonorrhoea. The mind reels, not just at the deeds, but at the years of disturbance and sexual disorientation that might lie ahead.

Willis Hall's *The Bright Side* (C4) is also, I suspect, indirectly about crime, though just why Lionel Bright is doing 10 years in an open prison was either not made clear or failed to wake me. Anyway, the series is plainly going to be more about how his wife played by the saucer-eyed innocent Paula Wilcox, copes with being the criminal equivalent of grass widow.

Bright (Paul Copley) has the rough male companionship of the sick, I cheer him, plus jolly wanderer who shares his passion for philately, and four years prospect of swapping British Commemoratives. She has nothing but a goldfish and a couple of squabbling mother-in-laws. Needs to be both funnier and sharper — but maybe it will be.

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W. J. Weatherby in New York describes how two uncompromising dramas, about the AIDS epidemic, have succeeded where traditional Broadway fare has failed

The end of the heart's immunity

Ben Vereen and Leland James in Grind (left); Brad Davis and D. W. Moffett in The Normal Heart (right)

THE AIDS epidemic is now the topic of two outstanding and completely different dramas in New York, and both critics and theatre-goers have so far responded in a way that recognises their importance.

At the same time that Larry Kramer's fiercely polemical *The Normal Heart* was opening at the Public Theatre, William M. Hoffman's much more intimate *As Is* was transferring from a brief trial run at off-Broadway's Circle Rep to a mainstream Broadway theatre, a rare commercial tribute to such an uncompromising controversial drama.

As *As Is* concerns a young homosexual suffering from AIDS - Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome - who is deserted by his relatives but not by his ex-lover. Short, almost documentary scenes quickly evoke the risks of casual sex encounters in bathhouses, bars and cheap hotels, and then the pay-off comes with the fatal diagnosis, desperate therapy sessions and eventually the final hospital seclusion.

It sounds forbidding, but the relationship between the con-

demned victim and his Jewish lover, who might have been expected to turn his back but didn't, is touching, tender and even funny, and very cleverly played by Jonathan Hogan and Jonathan Hadary. AIDS becomes the key for revealing the meaning of loyalty and even love, the difference between family and friends, and how fear can blind us to the essentials of life.

Kramer's *The Normal Heart* is at the opposite theatrical extreme, putting AIDS centre stage in the way only a frankly polemical drama can do and keeping it there right to the end. It is an angry attack on pretty well everybody - not notably government, media and media establishments for their inadequate response, especially in the early days of the epidemic. "There's not a good word to be said about anyone's behaviour in the whole mess," states one character, obviously summing up the author's own opinion.

Being a New York play, it is particularly hard on the local Manhattan media. When *The Normal Heart* was published, a largely favourable review by

its often devastating drama critic, Frank Rich, the paper added a postscript defending itself against the play's charges that it had suppressed news about AIDS, claiming that its substantial story on July 3, 1981, made the paper "one of the first - if not the first - national news media to alert the public to the scientific recognition and spread of the disease." New York's Mayor Koch, who is also criticised in the play, said he hadn't seen it but hoped it was as good as *As Is*, which was "superb."

The Normal Heart's accusations, expressed with a mounting rage that occasionally verges on hysteria, are conveyed through a homosexual activist played with powerful conviction by Brad Davis. Mr Kramer himself was a founder of the Gay Men's Health Crisis organisation and broke away after disputes about political tactics. All the disputes are dramatised through his activist hero. Most important probably is his appeal to cut down on sexual activity rather than risk getting AIDS, which is eloquently opposed on the

grounds that it negates the hard-fought battles for the freedom to practise homosexual love openly.

"AIDS is not a civil rights issue but a contagion issue," argues Mr Kramer's hero, who finds that his old battles against prejudice were easy compared with his struggle against the timidity of his peers. He falls in love with a New York Times reporter who is depicted as a liberal unsure how far to come out of the closet (the Times critic described him as a "weakling") but found him as played by D. W. Moffett the most complex and moving character. Their love scenes are rather lifeless, but their relationship does drama. Mr Kramer's main argument more subtly than he manages with the other characters who tend to be caricatures or mere symbols.

With a striking set that includes a list of the dead American victims state by state, *The Normal Heart* is often strident and repetitious, more editorial than drama, but its high seriousness and urgency, underlined by frightening glimpses of AIDS at work,

overcome any theatrical shortcomings and make it in its very different way as effective as the much more personal and appealing *As Is*.

With *Blindside*, *Grind*, *Ma Rainey's Black Bottom* and *Pack of Lies*, Hoffman's play is on the short list for a Tony award for best play of the season just ending. There is talk, however, of not awarding a Tony for best musical this year. It was hoped two late comers - *Grind* with Ben Vereen and *Big River* based on Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* - would save this poor musical season. Both are well worth a visit, but exciting, original musicals they are not.

Grind as directed by Harold Prince tries to work on so many levels that its character and appeal are confused. The setting is both on stage and behind the scenes at a Chicago burlesque theatre during the Depression. Racial segregation is booming so the smiles on stage hide much backstage bitterness and heartbreak. Add an IRA character with a guilt complex and you have a complex brew for a popular musical.

The book and music are adequate but not memorable, so the main burden falls on the players. Mr Vereen is never less than pleasing as actor, singer and dancer, but he is at his best when he is allowed to portray character and not left to try to carry the whole show himself.

Stubby Kaye, who made his name as Nicely Nicely in *Gyps and Dolls*, portrays an ageing comic who has problems finding an enduring stogie. He, too, is expected to carry more of the show than he should, but he is very welcome whenever he appears, though he deserves more help from the writers than he gets.

Grind, with its slack pacing, gives an impression of opening too soon before its outstanding problems were solved, but it deserves credit for dealing entertainingly and frankly with the racial scene, a topic that popular musicals generally avoid like the plague - or AIDS.

That brings us to the last new musical of the Broadway season. *Big River* has tuneful country music by Roger Miller, vigorous direction by Des

McAnuff, and some attractive performers. What it lacks is Twain's genius which kept his narrative going strong from beginning to end whereas *Big River* sags badly mid-way. This is not the exciting new musical Broadway awaits impatiently, but it is a pleasant evening if you like masterpieces brought down to a charming, unchallenging level.

Adaptations are probably condemned to being second-rate, but in a season in which *Leader of the Pack* on its 25th performance became the longest-running new musical, *Big River* has received a hearty welcome that perhaps it really merits. One of the recent casualties was a revival of *Take Me Along*, the 1959 musical based on O'Neill's only comedy. Ah! Wilderness! It closed immediately after opening night and this was interpreted as meaning the well-made musical of the Fifties were doomed in the Eighties. But, in fact, this revival was an inferior production with no star names and that explains its failure. Broadway has a high standard as regards style if not content.

Stephen Bierley meets a sportin' playwright

Golden track record

THE first time Louise Page went to the theatre she was taken to see Noddy. "I had read the books, but they had his car on the stage. It was wonderful. I don't think I had ever seen a car indoors before."

It was a potent image, in her own plays she delights in bringing the outdoors indoors. *Golden Girls*, currently running at The Pit, reaches its climax with the final of a women's 3 x 100 metres relay race. It has been known, as Miss Page has seen herself, "to have a couple of 60-year-old ladies leaping out of their seats and cheering."

For a play that she "expected to be shot down in flames," *Golden Girls* has proved a great success. Performances in London are virtually sold out, and it has been enthusiastically greeted in Leeds. A radio version is also in the pipeline.

It is Miss Page's first "big play," commissioned by the Royal Shakespeare Company. Spear ratters and ladies-in-waiting found themselves thrust into a world of tortured training, especially the five leading ladies who make up the relay team.

"The physio's been working overtime at the Barbican," said Miss Page, with perhaps a hint of relish.

The idea germinated in the early Eighties at the time of the Moscow Olympics when she became fascinated with athletics. But, she says, it is a play about "the joys of hypocrisy." "When Dorcas speaks of her ambitions as a runner, I just wrote about my feelings towards writing."

Golden Girls has taken over her life this year. Now she is about to buy a small house in Derbyshire and, between working at the Royal Court, get on to completing other projects. Her only real regret about the play is that the RSC, on its transfer from Stratford, would not use a re-written version which has been running in Leeds.

The sporting theme is due to crop up again soon. Miss Page has completed the first part of what she hopes will be a series for Central Television centred on a women's soccer team.

"I'm not really interested in star roles - I like to work in group theatre." This is what has drawn her to the sporting arena, not sport as such. "The nearest I get to it is swimming, a few lengths of the local pool."

Other works on the go include a new version of *Beauty And The Beast* for this Christmas, a play about the North-South divide for the Royal Court called *Hawks And Doves*, and a musical in collaboration with - Liza Selack who composed the sound tapes for *Golden Girls*.

Hawks And Doves will be a thriller, which she likens loosely to *David Copperfield*. She wants to write about the split in British society and, like her other plays, it will have a strong narrative. "I'm not interested in the agit-prop stuff of the Seventies."

She delights in the thought of all those opening nights. "I know I should admit it but I love them. It's the first rush through. I can't stand it just want to say 'thank you very much and goodbye'."

BRIEFING

THEATRE

ROBIN Phillips's production of *Antony And Cleopatra* opens at Chichester. Diana Rigg, Denis Quillley, Norman Rodway star. Kenneth Branagh plays the title role in Adrian Noble's production of *Henry VIII* at the Barbican and Robert Holman's *Today* comes into The Pit directed by Bill Alexander with Penny Downie and Roger Allam among the cast. Alfred Fagon's *Lonely Cowboy* bows at The Tricycle. Directed by Nicholas Kent. David Thacker's production of *Measure For Measure* opens at the Young Vic with Peter Guinness and Margot Leicester.

Inescent of The Bald Prima Donna and *Clare's A Time Story* arrive at the Almeida from the Leicester Haymarket Studio. The National Youth Theatre present Roger Steffens' *Tomorrow, Just You Wait And See* at the Imperial Museum as part of the V6 Festival.

Recommended

Pravda (Olivier, Monday to Thursday). Brenton and Hare's brilliant comedy about Fleet Street's capitulation to a South African tycoon. Anthony Hopkins brilliant as the rapacious hero.

Tom And Viv (Royal Court). Rosemary's old and Michael Hastings's compassionate view of T. S. Eliot's first marriage. Julie Covington beautifully brittle as Viv.

Michael Billington



OPERA

TWO important new productions. *Figaro* (Cardiff) Tuesday, tomorrow week. Tuesday week marks the return of the rich and controversial Romanian pianist, Lucian Filip, to Welsh National Opera after his extraordinary M.A.S.H.-hit *Carmen*. Again the designers are Radu and Mihaela Seculescu and the results can be guaranteed not to please the fogies.

Michael Tippett gets the care and attention his 80th year

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deserves with David Pountney's no-expense-spared new staging of *The Midsummer Marriage*. Coliseum Wednesday, tomorrow week. Friday week designed by Stefanos Lazaridis and conducted by Mark Elder. The G.O.M.'s magical psycho-myth has Helen Field and John Treleaven as the central couple. Lesley Garrod and Malvina May as their working-class Papageni equivalents, and Anthony Raffell as the wicked capitalist King Fisher.

The WNO revive their John Copley staging of *Tosca* (Cardiff next Friday, Wednesday week) with Josephine Barrow as the diva, Kristian Johansson as her Mario and Anthony Baldwin as Scarpio. Grzegorz Nowak conducts.

Recommended

Orlando (Glasgow tomorrow, Tuesday, Thursday). Christopher Fells's magical and original treatment of Handel's great magic opera, conducted by Richard Hickox, with James Bowman, Eiddwen Harrhy, Lillian Watson heading the cast.

Madam Butterfly (Coliseum Tuesday, next Friday). The searing theatricality of Graham Vick's astonishing and unusual staging, led by Janice Cairn's intense and moving Butterfly. Tom Sutcliffe

DANCE

MERCE Cunningham and his Dance Company with John Cage return to Sadler's Wells on Tuesday for their 21st anniversary London season which runs until June 23. The four programmes include no fewer than seven British premieres, none of them to be missed. Programme 1 is now changed to *Duets, Pictures and Locals*; Programme 2 on Wednesday is *Tales 2*; *Phrases*, *Readings* and *Programme 3* on Friday next is *Doubles*, *Quartet* and *Pictures*.

The Cunningham season is part of the Arts Festival of the Arts which is also being celebrated at the Bloomsbury Theatre from Monday (until June 1) with *A Bite Of The Big Apple*.

Sadler's Wells Royal Ballet celebrates the end of next week. They dance *The Sleeping Beauty* tomorrow night; *Swan Lake* next Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday; and the triple bill of *Les Sylphides*, *Petrushka* (with Lusting) and *Chores* next Wednesday.

Glasgow's Mayfest presents the Joel Ball Dancers from Chicago in their European premiere at the Mitchell Theatre next Thursday. All Mayfest events from 041-357 3450.

Mary Clarke

ROCK

Colour Field: Cardiff University (Tonight), Leeds University (Saturday), Chippinham Goldiggers (Monday), and Manchester Hacienda (Thursday). The drab dopey voice of ex-Special Terry Hall finds a new home in the folkie sandiness of *Virgins And Philistines*.

Working Week: Dundee University (Tonight), Leeds Warehouse (Sunday). Instigators of loose movement known as Soul Jazz. Simon Booth's group is big on stylish, big-band arrangements, small on Sade quality songs.

Richard Thompson Band: Workshop Estate (Tonight), Southport Arts Centre (Saturday). A master of tuneful, respectable self-pity plays his bitter folk rock. Dire Straits who want the vulgar

Barney Hoskyns

WITH the death of George Balanchine it has become very clear that Merce Cunningham is now the dominating force in American dance. Apart from Twyla Tharp, no choreographer on this side of the Atlantic shows a comparable originality or refinement of style. To see Cunningham's excellent company in an extended company like that at the Barbican, where they are finishing at the National City Centre Theatre is to have one's ideas about space, time and elegance - the ability to surprise us into an awareness of the body's capacity for beauty - suddenly, even forcibly, readjusted.

What Cunningham does with steps and with those extended passages of stillness that both link and give emphasis to so many of his dance phrases is, in effect, to help us re-examine our eyes and, by extension, our feelings. No one in the audience at City Centre with any sensitivity to dance is likely to forget in a hurry the impact of his current repertoire, especially the works being given in New York for the first time: *Doubles*, *Phrases* and *Native Green*, the latter a world premiere and one of Cunningham's most lyrical and illuminating inventions.

Describing Cunningham's works is among the hardest tasks a writer can take on. Cunningham provides his audiences with nothing but the experience of dance itself - that is, of movement in time and space - without anything of an extraneous nature to modify the challenge: no stories, no themes, no arguments, no fewer, not even a clear visual counter-part to a well-loved piece of music. In his repertoire, for example, there is not a single work that enables one to agonise along with the dancer as they try to body forth the yearnings expressed in, say, a symphony by Gustav Mahler.

While it is true that Cunningham is the means by which the public can hear a great deal of fascinating music, he does not make use of music in the time-honoured way of more conventional choreographers. For Cunningham music is an adjunct to the performance of dance, not a source of its form or its style. In similar fashion, the costumes, sets and lighting are also adjuncts. None plays a determinative role in the

Dale Harris hails the Merce Cunningham company which opens at Sadler's Wells on Tuesday

Dancing to the music of time

Merce Cunningham (right) and his company in Pictures (below)



creation of a Cunningham ballet. Each is, rather, a means of aesthetic enrichment.

Apart from the need to agree about the basic circumstances of a piece - how long it lasts, the number of performers it requires, the nature of the space in which it is to be shown - Cunningham offers his collaborators complete freedom. In other words, he allows them the opportunity to create exactly as they want to in their own particular field without any need to refer to what the other participants in the enterprise are up to.

For that reason, perhaps, the term collaborators is less apt than partners. There is no evidence that any of the



several arts that comprise a Cunningham ballet is subservient to any other. That, for example, the designer of the decor and costumes is interpreting the nature of the choreography and is therefore its humble servant.

There is even less evidence that the choreographer is in any way interpreting the music. Instead of a visualisation of, or a comment upon, a piece of music, Cunningham offers his audience a concert of essentially autonomous sounds - almost invariably electronic these days and usually played by the composer - at the same time that the dancing to which the music deliberately bears no kinetic or interpretive relationship, is taking place.

do not have in, say, *Phrases*, where the athleticism is emphasised by sleek, brilliantly coloured tights - until, that is, they put on extra pieces of clothing in some cases sweaters in others leg warmers, in yet others leather belts, as if they were dressing up for a party.

There is no doubt, too, that the character of the music plays a similar role in affecting our response to what we are looking at, even when the combination is essentially arbitrary. In *Native Green* the music by John King (Gliss in *Sighs*), which sounds like the workings of a textile mill as heard through a half-closed door, creates an aural landscape of dream-like impersonality. In *Pictures*, on the other hand, the music by David Behrman (*Interspecies Smalltalk*) is dominated by the plaintive, emotive sound of an amplified violin - the result being that the dancers' movements take on a strange and haunting poignancy.

All these ballets - as well as *Trails*, *Inlets 2* and *Quartet*, which the company will be bringing to London for the first time next week - are primarily studies in movement. They are also studies in relationships, and, as such, infinitely subtle and suggestive. They are, in addition, thanks to Cunningham's superb company, wonderfully vivid.

This season Helen Barrow, Alan Good, Catherine Kerr, Robert Swinston and Megan Walker have particularly distinguished themselves. And once again Chris Komar has shown himself to be among the finest dancers of our time. But the most amazing of them all is Cunningham himself. Now almost 66, he only appears in certain works, and then briefly. Whenever he does, however, it is like a visitation from a great philosopher, whose every gesture bespeaks profound, hard-won wisdom.

And whether or not the costumes are conceived in virtually complete independence of Cunningham's intentions, the manner in which the dancers are clothed inevitably produces a specific effect. In *Native Green*, for example, the fact that the women wear white tights overlaid with white skirts gives them a femininity they

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A lady in a world of chaps

Let us start by praising Mrs Thatcher. In her six years as Prime Minister (as demonstrated again yesterday in her statement on M15 and the lessons of the Bettaney case) she has shown an impatience with the security services which has contrasted impressively with the obsequious attitude of her Downing Street predecessors. What is more, Mrs Thatcher has been far more willing than previous premiers to allow, however briefly, some parliamentary discussion of the services' job and their shortcomings. On a succession of occasions — the Blunt affair, the Long case, the Prime debacle and the Massiter revelations, and now after Bettaney — this Prime Minister has come down to the Commons and has talked, albeit still guardedly and opaquely, about the problems of state agencies whose very existence was never even acknowledged by earlier administrations. So Mrs Thatcher wins high marks for intentions.

But the very recital of the number of times that she has had to lift the corner of the rug now only shows how inadequate that cautious approach has proved. After each embarrassment, the prescription has been essentially the same. The matter has been referred to the Security Commission, presided over by those splendid chaps Lord Diplock and, now, Lord Bridge. They have proposed, though here the detail becomes distinctly sparing. And Mrs Thatcher, through the good offices of the anonymous director-general of M15, has disposed. Then along comes the next cock-up, and the old process is set in motion yet again. That was essentially what we got yesterday, apropos the sins of Bettaney. The incompetent attempts of the would-be Russian spy have exposed serious errors of internal management. Organisation, supervision and recruitment within M15 have been thoroughly examined. Yet another sound chap, this time Sir Antony Duff (though his name was not allowed to pass the prime ministerial lips),

will try to sort things out. He will come up with fresh proposals on the internal regulation of M15 (which may or may not be the subject of a further statement in the autumn), and he will look at the possibility of improving the internal grievance procedures for unhappy, as opposed to disloyal, agents. Meanwhile, of course, the operational and professional efficiency of the service remains unimpaired and, as Mrs Thatcher succinctly put it yesterday, "We should continue to enable the secret services to operate in a secret way."

If this was the sort of newspaper which supported Thatcherite philosophy, we might portray her handling of the security services as an object lesson of the Prime Minister's tendency to talk tough while failing to dislodge the old-boy dominated consensus. Yet what her handling really shows is the double-standard which is applied to bodies like M15 (and the police) by an administration which in all other respects demands fresh and unimpeachable managerial efficiency. In other areas of government we are repeatedly told that an organisation cannot be any good at its job if management and working practices are up the creek. But miraculously, M15 continues to defy these rules. There, management is bad but the organisation remains beyond scrutiny and criticism. There, a decent sort like Sir Antony Duff, vaguely supervised by another decent sort like Lord Bridge, is enough to right the wrongs. And with such assurances we are supposed to rest easy.

You don't have to be called Clive Ponting or Cathy Massiter to believe that this is not good enough. In the Commons yesterday, it was senior Tory backbenchers like Sir Edward Gardner and Sir Anthony Kershaw who stood up and told Mrs Thatcher that more is still needed. Their recipe is for a security service ombudsman to be available to hear complaints from anxious agents. And, as far as it goes, that is a reasonable proposal. But within the culture of the secret world it can only have limited impact. If like Ms Massiter, you believe that the service is engaged in unjustifiable and sometimes illegal work, the chances are that the official reaction will not be sympathy but a recommendation to visit the psychiatrist, a denial of promotion and perhaps even the sack. The fact remains that it is Ms Massiter's systematic and undenied allegation that M15 is rou-

tinely involved in wrongful surveillance which is the most serious and best documented charge against the secret world. Decent chaps from within the system aren't the answer to those exposures. Only an independent system of accountability can put the reins on that sort of abuse. By opposing such a reform, as she did so emphatically yesterday, Mrs Thatcher is feebly ducking the real issue.

Touching up the paintwork

The Government's green paper on home improvement offers means-tested automatic grants for people living in houses unfit for human habitation and interest free loans to others at the discretion of the local authority, and in exchange for an equity stake in the property concerned. This will replace the recent system where basic facilities qualify for fixed sums and the rest have been eligible, if the properties were old enough, for 90 per cent grants (until the end of 1984 when it was reduced to 75 per cent). The availability of such generous grants indicated that this was one of those areas where throwing money at the problem did indeed work — expenditure on improvement grants rose from £90 million in 1978/9 to £911 million in 1983/4, before falling to £740 million in 1984/5 and an estimated £500 million this year. But even this money, nearly all of it spent on the products of UK industry — made only a small dent on the problem of the worsening housing stock.

The aim of yesterday's green paper is to make more cost effective use of a diminishing (thanks to Treasury constraints) contribution from public expenditure. Within this quite unnecessarily Scrooge-like context, the idea of interest free loans to encourage improvements is certainly innovative. For instance, if a £4,000 loan boosted the value of the house to £40,000 after improvements then your friendly local authority will own 10 per cent of your house, to be realised when it is sold.

Whether this is viewed in the Tory shires as the best thing since the butter mountain, remains to be seen. The thinking behind it is that recycled taxpayers' money should not be directed either at those who

are reasonably well off or those who are likely to go ahead with improvements anyway. All very well, Mr Gow, but where would this leave mortgage interest relief if the same principles were applied?

At the other end of the income scale the housing minister proposes, creditably, to introduce a higher minimum standard of housing fitness which would attract a more or less automatic grant. But this will be subject to a means test administered by already hard pressed local authorities. Mr Gow was coy yesterday about how high or low the income threshold would be except that somehow it might be linked to criteria for housing benefit which have yet to be announced.

What is tragic about yesterday's plans is that they are applying diminishing funds, albeit on a more "cost effective" basis, to a huge and worsening problem. It is not as if the money is not available since an estimated £8 billion of the taxpayers' money is dispensed to owner occupiers. At least these new proposals are more even handed between rich and poor. But the attack on Britain's vast housing problem is as far away as ever.

Mr Evans writes a letter

After a deal of hesitation, and with some ill grace, the Transport and General Workers' Union has called an action replay of its bitterly challenged leadership contest. That painful decision was taken in the face of mounting complaints made by individual members of the union. It was union members who complained — in specific detail about how their branch ballot was (or, in some cases, was not) conducted. Newspapers and television reported some of the allegations and subsequently commissioned professional market surveys in Northern Ireland which appeared to demonstrate that a far smaller proportion of the membership had voted than the official returns indicated. Finally the TGWU permitted Mr John Garnett, director of the independent Industrial Society, to conduct a hurried and partial examination of allegations in the London region. (The TGWU denied his request to be allowed to do a more detailed job.) Even so Mr Garnett, after only 13

hours of actual investigation, came up with case after case of "irregularities" of "malpractice" and of "cheating". He found no evidence of a grand central conspiracy and he said as much. But he found overwhelming evidence of both accidental chaos and deliberate corruption.

Mr Moss Evans, the union's retiring General Secretary, has now sent a circular letter to Fleet Street editors which draws attention to the "repeat ballot" without saying why the ballot is to be repeated. Instead he complains of a "torrent of misreporting" and of "misleading headlines, unsubstantiated allegations, innuendo and smears." Newspapers are advised to refrain from "character assassination" during the repeat performance and warned that the union will take "whatever action necessary to ensure fair play." Mr Evans asks editors to ensure that journalists "adhere" to the highest standards of journalism "so that the union and the candidates in the General Secretary election receive fair treatment." Well, of course: though note along the way that there is nothing improper or unusual about any paper, be it the Communist Morning Star or, say, the Daily Mail, expressing its preference.

We also reckon that one aspect of "the highest standards of journalism" (and several other less exalted standards) is to expose injustice — be it deliberate or accidental — wherever it occurs. Mr Evans' letter concludes with the thought that his union will, as it has every right to do, "be closely monitoring coverage" during the election. Equally he would, one hopes, accept that a free press has a duty to monitor the vote itself through all its stages with the same closeness. That is why the selective banning order which coincided with the letter was a touch disturbing. Whilst offering "the media every possibility to assist in ensuring the widest publicity" for the ballot, the executive committee of the union has barred BBC Newsnight from the count and instructed all its regions to refuse "facilities" to the programme. The union says that some of the allegations made on the programme (and repeated widely in the press, including this newspaper) will eventually be the subject of legal action.

(Indeed, we got a writ last night! Even so, to attempt to obstruct one part of the media as a retrospective punishment doesn't quite fit with the sonorous injunctions of Mr Evans' round robin.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Paradox of fighting for the right to destroy liberties

Sir,—May I express my full support of the National Council for Civil Liberties in its repudiation of a course of action which would not only lead it up a political cul-de-sac but so qualify and compromise our traditional understanding of civil liberties that the council would in effect be seen by the public as defending the interests of the enemies of democracy at the expense of those who cherish our hard-won liberties.

I do not see how the case of the supposed right to break a strike can be conceived to be of the same order as the substantive right of workers to strike. While no libertarian would question the wisdom of the NCCL to give advice to individuals irrespective of their political views — including fascists — it is another matter for this uniquely constituted body to offer assistance to people whose stated aim is to destroy the liberties of others.

It is indeed a strange world in which, as the nation celebrates the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism in Europe, professed libertarians are prepared to go to extraordinary lengths to defend a so-called right which denies the historically developed rights of workers, and to help those who seek to destroy the rights of whole sections of the population.

At a time when President Reagan is visiting, nay honouring, the Nazi deed; when a member of the world's oldest Parliament will attack Bishop Tutu for his support of the majority to rebel against repression, violence, and exploitation in South Africa; when a minister of the Crown apparently seeks nothing of a senior civil servant consulting with fascists — at such a time, Sir, and contrary to your own views, the NCCL ought to be so gratulated for its unequivocal repudiation and its assertion of the just stance for the liberties and rights of the majority of the people. (Dr) Harry Gumbrell, 58 Warwick Avenue, Earlston, Coventry.

Sir,—You have reported my resignation from the executive committee of the NCCL and referred to me in other reports about the aftermath of the council's annual general meeting. May I express a view on the questions posed in your May 2 Leader. "Mr Gostlin's sad choice."

My own resignation was the inescapable consequence of membership of the inquiry into the policing of the

miners' dispute. For the NCCL's AGM did not, as some are now suggesting, merely register a disagreement with one sentence of our interim report regarding collective and individual rights in an industrial dispute. It repudiated the inquiry's having exceeded its terms of reference and "damaged the miners' cause."

In doing so, it endorsed decisions of the NCCL's executive committee which had itself adopted trade union overreaction to the report, and thus made the AGM confrontation inevitable.

I have not, however, resigned, and do not intend to resign, from the NCCL itself. I urge other members to remain. I further urge those who have only belatedly realised how much they care about the nature and effectiveness of the civil liberties movement to join the NCCL.

Any civil libertarian will want to support the great bulk of the NCCL's work. In its rejection of Larry Gostlin's stance, the NCCL has for a time impaired its ability to win support for its cause.

But the council occupies a theologically space available for a civil liberties organisation in this country, and it will again be necessary for socialists as well as non-socialists to argue within the NCCL for a recognition that a civil liberties organisation must derive its positions from civil liberties principles, and not from an automatic identification with the labour movement.

My own attitude to any fresh attempts to promote that recognition within the NCCL will depend on whether it carries a real prospect of strengthening the civil liberties movement — as, I continue to believe, did the 1978-80 efforts — or merely play into the hands of those with no such interest. — Yours sincerely, Ian Martin, London E1.

Equal rights

Sir,—Would someone please remind the NCCL's critics that we live in a democracy? In such a system the minority are supposed to bow to the will of the majority. The right to work, then, is no more equal to the right to strike than the right to break the law is equal to the right to keep it. — Yours, Frances Abrams, The Old Hall, Marple, Stockport.

Spare a thought for the mass-murder victims of bombing

Sir,—In his visits to Bitburg and Belsen President Reagan has invited us to remember the dead German soldiers and dead Jews. But one category of German war dead has not been remembered. President Reagan has laid no wreath on any memorial to the half-million and more German civilians killed by British and American bombing.

The scale of the Allied assault on the German population is hard to grasp, but the recently shown film clips of Dachau help to put it into perspective. Dachau concentration camp was opened in 1933 and liberated in 1945; 30,000 people were exterminated there in 12 years. This is rightly regarded as a crime of almost unbelievable proportions.

But at Hamburg in July and August 1943 48,000 people were killed in a week. And at Dresden on February 13/14 1945, at least 35,000 people were killed in 15 hours (many historians believe that the death toll was more than 100,000). The George Stevens film of Dachau shows us an obscenity which would have been revealed by a George Stevens film of Hamburg. Dead German cities destroyed by bombing?

It will no doubt be argued that there is a difference between mass murder in concentration camps and mass murder by bombing. There is. Mass murder in concentration camps has been declared criminal by all civilised nations and is not an immediate threat, at least in Europe.

Mass murder by bombing has never been declared criminal. On the contrary, it was sanctioned by the British and American war leaders, in both Germany and Japan, and practised by the Americans in Vietnam and Cambodia. Civilised nations find it acceptable to threaten mass murder by bombing. And the threat in Europe is immediate and real.

Speaking of the Jews, President Reagan said: "We say with the victims of that holocaust, 'Never again.'" Those other holocausts, though — in Hamburg, Dresden, Hiroshima — may remain unremembered, and much too close for comfort. — Yours sincerely, Albert Hunt, Whitehill Green, Halifax, W. Yorkshire.

Sir,—Now that your television critic and Diarist have finished with the Bulgarian jokes there may be space, in this week of fortieth anniversaries, to record briefly something significant about the German people of their collective guilt over the last war.

The Nazi leaders and other German war criminals have been largely hunted down and arrested. Their cities were bombed to the ground. The West (but not the East) German government has paid extensive war reparations and the nation as a whole

has gone through agonies of guilt and shame. The Soviet regime, on the other hand, has not given up any of the illegal gains made in Stalin's time (does anyone remember the Baltic states?) has not owned up to any war crime (Katyn being the most obvious example) and has passed a veil over 60 million murdered. The Russian people has not had to endure any shame or guilt. — Indeed many perpetrators of Stalinist atrocities still hold important positions in the Soviet government.

It is as if you were asking us to forgive a Germany still occupying Jersey and Guernsey, and admitting any responsibility for the holocaust, and governed by Hitler's son! — Yours faithfully, Ivar Sinka, Latvian Youth Association, Reading, Berkshire.

Sir,—I find it quite baffling that the controversy over President Reagan's visit to the war cemetery at Bitburg centres on the presence of a number of graves of members of the Waffen SS. It is unfortunately true that the appalling atrocities committed largely against the people of Eastern Europe, involving the shooting, hanging, freezing and starving of well over twice that of the number of Jews who perished in the holocaust, were carried out by ordinary members of the Wehrmacht as much as by the SS.

To the people of Poland, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Albania, and Greece it was immaterial which badges their butchers wore. It should also not be forgotten that the Waffen SS included many volunteers from every nation occupied by the Germans. No doubt the only reason there were no British was because we were not occupied.

The burden of guilt is too vast to be concentrated only on the Germans and on the SS in particular. It rests on all who shared and supported — that accused — the holocaust. — Yours faithfully, E. W. Stanford, 14 Timpit Lane, Marlborough, Wiltshire.

Sir,—I do not often find myself unsympathetic to an



occupied by Nazi Germany, Bulgaria is the only one which did not allow one of its Jews to be sent to concentration camps. — Sincerely yours, N. N. Wood, 86a St John's Wood, London NW8.

Sir,—You express the hope (Leader, May 8) that we will stand in a local or parliamentary election.

This was demonstrated in the 1984 Chesterfield by-election when Christopher Hill, aged 18, stood for the "Progress" — I am not a Number party. Initially he was refused permission to stand, but after due consultation it was decided he could but, if elected, he could not take his seat for three years. — Richard J. Belbin, Colne, Lancashire.

Sir,—Andrew Veitch's article "Drug companies' certainty over advert claims" (May 2) quotes Dr Collier to the effect that Beecham withdrew an advertisement after his complaint about it in the Lancet last year.

Dr Collier's information is absolutely wrong. The Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry's Code of Practice Committee dismissed his complaint as "entirely without foundation" and the advertisement is appearing unchanged in current medical journals. E. W. Stanford, Beecham Pharmaceuticals, Brentford, Middlesex.

Sir,—I don't find it altogether surprising to learn of the demise of the Rand Daily Mail if, as you reported (April 30), "each copy" was read by nearly a million people.

I'm not sure what the exact population of South Africa is at the moment, but I estimate that a daily circulation of around 20 copies would easily achieve saturation. — Yours faithfully, I. Boulton, Kent.

Sir,—The Government's proposal to sell off British Gas appears on the face of it to be once more flying in the face of its own simplistic attitude towards economics. After all, if a state asset is to be sold for £5 to £6 billion when it made a profit of £1 billion in one year, then it is not unreasonable to assume that in five to six years the taxpayers of this country could recoup the selling price of BG and still hold the assets. This must be as close as you can get to having your cake and eating it.

Nor does Peter Walker's claim to be freeing BG

from bureaucratic interference stand close examination as he intends to set up a quango to "oversee gas prices and terms and conditions of supply", and to see that there can be "no foreign takeover of BG" — admirable intentions, but what's new? — Yours faithfully, John P. Coghlan, 2 Dunrook Way, Wargrave, Berkshire.

Once again, the Chancellor's short-term requirement for cash in good time for the next election's giveaways has prevailed over the medium and long term interests of both the taxpayer and the gas consumer alike. — Yours faithfully, Peter Bevil, Stag House, Newington, Oxford.

Sir,—I find it quite baffling that the controversy over President Reagan's visit to the war cemetery at Bitburg centres on the presence of a number of graves of members of the Waffen SS. It is unfortunately true that the appalling atrocities committed largely against the people of Eastern Europe, involving the shooting, hanging, freezing and starving of well over twice that of the number of Jews who perished in the holocaust, were carried out by ordinary members of the Wehrmacht as much as by the SS.

To the people of Poland, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Albania, and Greece it was immaterial which badges their butchers wore. It should also not be forgotten that the Waffen SS included many volunteers from every nation occupied by the Germans. No doubt the only reason there were no British was because we were not occupied.

The burden of guilt is too vast to be concentrated only on the Germans and on the SS in particular. It rests on all who shared and supported — that accused — the holocaust. — Yours faithfully, E. W. Stanford, 14 Timpit Lane, Marlborough, Wiltshire.

Sir,—I do not often find myself unsympathetic to an

action on Mrs Thatcher, but I found Winnie Ewing's defence (Letters, May 4) of President Reagan's visit to Bitburg sick, and her refusal to align herself with Mrs Thatcher's criticism of it a piece of narrow party humbug.

Reconciliation between the peoples of the countries that were at war during the years 1939-45 is a common goal, and has actually happened in most of Western Europe. But the SS, the Waffen SS, and the other formations of the Nazi regime's praetorian guard were the scum of the earth, the thought police of their own people, and the killers of other peoples.

Nor till the 1,000 years of the projected Reich of Darkness have passed — not even then — will they, or their justifiers, or those who minimise their crimes have any claims on the forgiveness of their victims' descendants. To speak of them as being "elite soldiers bravely loyal" is incomparably better armed than our own troops" is to utter a nauseating irrelevance. I do not wish to criticise Mrs Thatcher for criticising President Reagan's visit to Bitburg. I just wish I was charitable enough to believe her criticisms were sincere and disinterested. Stephen Meyer, 5 Waverley Road, Leeds.

Sir,—I think someone should stand up for James Burke and The Day the Universe Changed and counter the extraordinary spitefulness of Sandy Smithies' attacks on him on your TV page in recent weeks.

To one of Ms Smithies' elevated mind, Mr Burke's thickly laid trail of puns and his wide majority of TV viewers should not be a laughing matter. Mr Burke's approach may be ridiculous, but his stinging to counter tactics being well versed with all these events already. But I would draw her attention to the fact that a large majority of TV viewers are not Guardian but Sun readers and, in view of this, if someone aims to get a few of the important trends in world development across to a mass audience, and can actually do it without putting a ferret down his trousers, he is to be praised rather than insulted.

I have learned a great deal very painlessly from Mr Burke's series, and I think his rationalist message cannot come amiss. Ms Smithies should save her withering scorn for some of the real rubbish and pap with which she often deals quite leniently. — Yours faithfully, Lyne Reid Banks, 16 Rosemont Road, London W2.

Sir,—I read your reproduction of the Manchester Guardian's VE Day front page and couldn't believe my eyes: only one very mild spelling mistake. . . . Chris O'Hanlon, Kennington, Kent.

A COUNTRY DIARY

AVON: Our recent adventures in deepest Cornwall saw us heading westward with two cats and returning to Bath at the end of the Easter holiday with six. In the early hours of Good Friday, our young queen gave an agonised squeal from the deep recesses of the airing cupboard where she had built herself a nest the previous day. When we went to look at breakfast time she was cowering four new-born kittens. The event was not

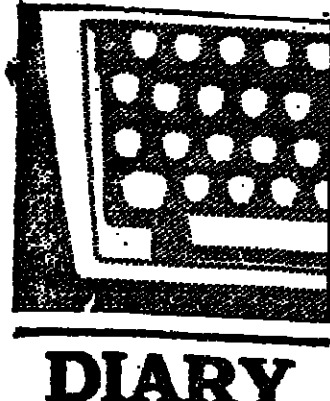
unexpected. She had, in feline terms, looked as broad as a bus for some weeks. That, of course, was some five weeks ago and we are now at the early stages of a domestic cat problem. The problem is, quite simply, in solution, perhaps less so in definition. By the end of May, when the beasts are fully weaned we shall have six furry feline friends (domestic long-haired to do the veterinary description) to trip over. The young mother, a native of Zenor, where

she was born on a farm astride the high cliffs, produced this litter only a score of miles from her own birthplace, so these fine specimens — themselves born within sound of the crashing surf in a thatched cottage on Trevecliff Cliffs at Senenon, are essentially Cornish cats. The problem is currently at a manageable level, for apart from tentative nocturnal wanderings the Easter kittens still spend most of their time plugged into their mother for nourishment. But,

in the normal course of events it will not be long before they reach the running up the curtains stage of development. We will then have Lenin and Trotsky, Kinnoch and Thatcher (sexes may not match names) all line friends. Offers from cat-loving families wishing to provide bed and board for these fine specimens of irreproachable lineage will be welcomed.

COLIN LUOKHURST

1520 1520



DIARY

THE British School of Motoring's enormous donation to the Liberal Party has been given to a British political party—has sent opponents scuttling back to the Department of Trade report into the involvement of its chairman, Mr. Anthony Jacobs, in the Ozald Group in the early Seventies.

The investigation cleared Mr. Jacobs, but was highly critical of an anti-competition arrangement he was involved in when he threatened to leave the company. It speaks of a "sham agreement... a cynical disregard of the need for fairness" and of a transaction that was "unattractive and unacceptable." But a colleague in the scheme, singled out for criticism, later went with Mr. Jacobs to BSM, a co-directorship with him of two other companies.

In 1972, Mr. Jacobs failed to be appointed MD of Ozald and decided to hit back by forming his own company, Mr. M. Miller, a competing company in South Africa, with a holding company in Liechtenstein. When the latter was set up in July 1972, Ozald offered Mr. Jacobs £100,000 to buy Miller to buy them off. This sum was hidden in Ozald's accounts and later lied about by the colleague Mr. Jacobs later set up with at BSM.

Mr. Jacobs became a non-executive director and later told the DTI inquiry that, since Ozald was "in effect buying off competitors," the board took "the utmost precautions" to avoid putting anything on paper. Ozald pretended the £150,000 was for "consultancy services." The truth was only turned up by persistent accountants. The DTI condemned the transaction as reprehensible, but confined itself to saying that it was "unfortunate that in this report Mr. Jacobs figures in respect of the part he played concerning advisory services." A separate ICA inquiry found no grounds for criticising Mr. Jacobs. The DTI never found out who ultimately got the money.

Mr. Jacobs, a former Liberal candidate and now party treasurer, stands by his former colleague, who has since left the BSM to run his own company. He was "cared more than anyone else and didn't deserve it," he said last night. "He is a man of immense integrity who acted foolishly."

IT IS late time again already, and rate-capping is claiming still more victims. The leaving Campaign Group met on Wednesday and decided to knock Mr. David Blunkett off its slate for the NEC—guilty by association, it seems, of Sheffield's decision to set a rate. This seems optimistic, as does Mr. Blunkett's replacement, Mr. Tom Dainoff.

LARRY GOSTIN may have problems with his new civil liberties group, the Libertarian Alliance, for there are already two libertarian alliances in existence, both on the extreme Right. The looper one, based in Poland Street, London, is into the fringes of heroin advocacy. The more mainstream group, has appealed to Mr. Gostin to change his organisation's name immediately.

CUNNING, these Yanks, how better for the American Ambassador to travel incognito through the streets of London than by taxi? Armour-plated, mine-proof taxi, that is. Whether he still does is not known. But the ambassadorial taxi of 1978 is up Mart this week for a mere £12,000. Only 7,000 miles on the clock. There have been one or two owners since the vehicle was knocked up to BSM specifications, ending up in the hands of the current seller, Robin Wood of West London.

KEN LIVINGSTONE is finally resigning as an editor of Labour Herald, to be replaced by John McDonnell. Ken says he couldn't labour on with people "who have betrayed me and whom I hate."

THE TASK of finding someone to do a PR job for "m'friends" (or simply "m'friends," as barristers sometimes call solicitors) is something of an uphill one. The last Law Society PR man left in difficult circumstances but, as we reported last month, a successor was found in the form of the former Labour MP, Mr. Michael Ward. Alas, the current New Law Journal reports that the society was greatly put out by this colleague's disclosure that Mr. Ward had once done PR for Sir T. Dan Smith, Mr. Ward was put out that they should be put out, and also by his continuing mystery. So now Mr. Ward has decided he doesn't want the job after all and m'learned friends are left once more looking for a replacement.

Alan Rusbridger

Are the security services becoming more politicised? asks RICHARD NORTON-TAYLOR

Time for a little self scrutiny

SEVERAL former MI5 officials have been lavishly recently with their criticisms of the way the organisation works. In a letter from prison, where he is serving a 23 year sentence for attempting to send secrets to the KGB, Michael Bettaney criticised senior MI5 officials, including Sir John Jones, the former director-general who retired last month, for encouraging the security service to monitor the activities of domestic groups, including CND and trade unions.

Another former MI5 officer, Cathy Massiter, described in a television programme how the organisation surveys domestic targets. Peter Wright, a former official who now lives in Tasmania, has described how, instead of putting its own house in order, MI5 management began to divert resources to domestic groups, especially after the 1972 miners' strike.

Yesterday, the Security Commission delivered its own scathing attack on MI5 management, and by implication on Sir John Jones. But it steered clear of the operations of MI5 itself; indeed, it said that there was nothing to suggest that they should be called into question. Instead, it blamed senior MI5 officials for mishandling Bettaney's career.

According to the Security Commission's report there was no reason to doubt Bettaney's loyalty at the time he was recruited, even though at Oxford University he was a member of a right-wing group with a keen interest in Nazi politics. He had subsequently lived for a year in West Germany with a priest from Eastern Europe.

The Security Commission reserved its criticism for the failure of MI5 management to review Bettaney's positive vetting clearance, due in 1981, and for keeping him too long in Northern Ireland. It was during his 18 months there that Bettaney says his disillusion started.

He began to drink heavily and was arrested for being drunk in Oxford Street in October 1982. A few days later he was fined for a railway fare offence. He was then transferred to Section K of MI5, responsible for counter-espionage work.

MI5 is responsible not only for vetting its own employees, but also helping other departments vet their staff. Three years ago, the Security Commission emphasised the importance of searching for "character defects." Ironically, it suggested these presented more of a threat than ideological motives.

Mrs Thatcher told the Commons yesterday that she had asked the new MI5 director-general, Sir Anthony Duff, to consider "internal outlets" to allow MI5 officers to express their anxieties or grievances. It was a tacit recognition of the fact that MI5 officials are increasingly questioning the activities they are being asked to carry out.

Former MI5 officials say that the security services, and its 2,000 officials, are being increasingly politicised—in common with the Civil Service. That is one reason why there are growing demands expressed on both sides of the Commons yesterday that MI5—its budget of £180 million—should be monitored, either by Parliament or by an independent Ombudsman.

Michael Bettaney: letter from prison cell

NICHOLAS CUMMING-BRUCE in Thailand examines the background to a Leyland contract

Big six-wheeler diesel engine Bangkok bus

MUSSOLINI's feat of making Italian trains run on time will look pretty modest if Leyland Bus and its partners in a British consortium pull off their deal with Bangkok's Mass Transit Authority. The £385 million contract, BMTA announced yesterday, it plans to award to the British group is not merely to supply buses, 4,000 of them, but to make the bus system work.

In an attempt to drum up some public favour for the deal, officials of the debt-ridden and publicly-derided bus authority are tantalising Bangkok citizens with the notion the deal will mean quality bus services and regular schedules.

Such promises are the stuff of dreams to Bangkokians trapped in the nightmare world of their capital's traffic. Bus users are squeezed and shaken into over-heated human pulp as they cram themselves aboard

Bangkok traffic nightmare

The Leyland deal, BMTA

officials say, will help the company and bring profitability in a matter of years. But with privatisation as a possibility, the Ministry may prove reluctant to authorise a big new infusion of public money.

The snares and pitfalls that beset the deal in this period of bureaucratic wheeling and dealing, are nothing to the potholes, real and metaphorical, that await Leyland and its buses on the streets of Bangkok. Not for nothing have "well informed sources" been seducing the local press with accounts of how the gleaming single and double-decker buses from Leyland come with aluminium bodies, power brakes, and power steering, plus a life expectancy three times that of their Japanese competitors.

Significantly, an important part of the British package is the construction of 24 maintenance depots around the sprawling capital, and spare parts will reportedly come free for the first two

years of the contract.

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The cost of keeping the present bus fleet on the roads, together with high rental charges for its maintenance depots, are among factors blamed by previous BMTA management for the organisation's heavy losses. But even if Leyland overcomes these obstacles, there are other bad habits—corruption—it will have to tackle. Officials say privately this is a major factor in BMTA's financial difficulties. Large amounts of revenue collected from passengers, they suspect, never quite make it into the organisation's coffers.

Already in trouble over Father Boff, the Pope fearlessly visits Holland this weekend where his views have divided the Church. ROBERT NOWELL reports

There were doctrinal arguments, too. In 1986 a small group of extreme conservatives denounced the newly-published catechism for adults to the authorities in Rome. The row dragged on for three years until a supple-ment was issued.

From Rome's point of view the Dutch Church, once so dependable—with only 1 per cent of the world's Catholic population it supplied 10 per cent of the world's Catholic missionaries—now seemed to be going off the rails. It had to be brought back into line.

Rome squashed Dutch plans for a permanent national Pastoral Council, but its real trump card was its control of the appointment of bishops.

The tradition was for the cathedral chapter of a vacant diocese to forward three names to Rome of suitable candidates. In the wake of Vatican II, extensive consultation was carried out in order to ensure that these reflected the wishes of the clergy and people of the diocese.

In 1970, Rome began a policy of ignoring diocesan wishes. It imposed what it regarded as "safe" men in Dutch sees, beginning with Bishop Adrianus Simonis of Rotterdam (now Archbishop of Utrecht and about to become a Cardinal), and following this with the appointment of the extreme conservative bishop, Jan Matthijs Gijzen of Roermond.

The most recent appointment, that of Bishop Jan Ter Schure of Den Bosch, aroused even stronger protest. His predecessor, Bishop Bluyssen, said publicly that he was disappointed, and even Archbishop Simonis has been reported to be unhappy. An opinion poll found that only 5 per cent of the Catholics of the diocese were happy with the appointment.

Among those elsewhere who registered their disapproval were the nuns of the convent at Amersfoort where, next Tuesday, the Pope will spend the last night of his stay.

Not only the Dutch will be watching with interest to see how the Pope handles this visit. For they are not alone in developing their own distinctive interpretation of Catholicism in ways that do not always fit easily with the directives coming from Rome. The Dutch were merely the first off the mark.

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The rates imbroglio, in which Mr Younger is still sunk despite his promise of £40 million in extra aid, has highlighted the weaknesses of the Conservatives in Scotland. It was long evident in electoral performance, but often obscured by the huge parliamentary majority at Westminster and the traditional sympathy which has characterised the party's relationship with Mrs Thatcher.

That has gone now. The amiable Mr Younger, whose Cabinet face has been one of sweet reason, in deliberate contrast to the Tebbit/Lawson scowl, found it difficult yesterday to deal with a conference which cheered a Tory councillor who warned that their throats were about to be cut at the next election and another who spoke darkly of "the ratepayers' revenge."

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As usual the old code was employed first. The Government's propaganda was inadequate; its ministers too gloomy; its judgment of the public mood faulty. That much was predictable, since Tory conferences attribute their Government's failings to poor communications as often as Labour conferences blame the capitalist press.

But later it was clear that this year they were not content with shooting the messenger who brought the bad news. They were at last convinced that the news was bad in the first place.

It is not more than three years since Mr Malcolm Rifkind had a series of stand-

ing ovations for proposing some of the reforms in local government spending controls which this time had caused such agony. It is not long, as Mr Younger felt necessary to point out, since conference after conference refused to accept a single formula for rates reform.

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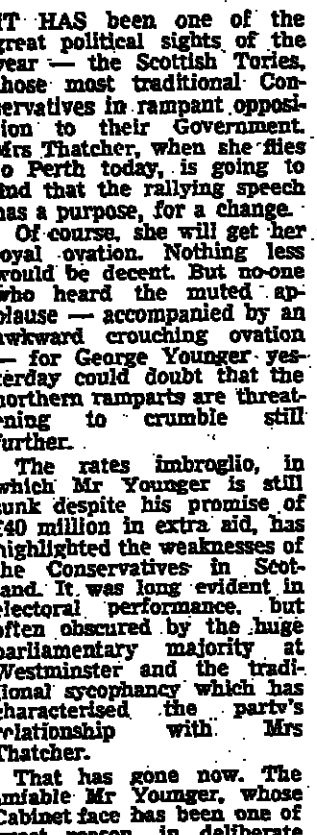
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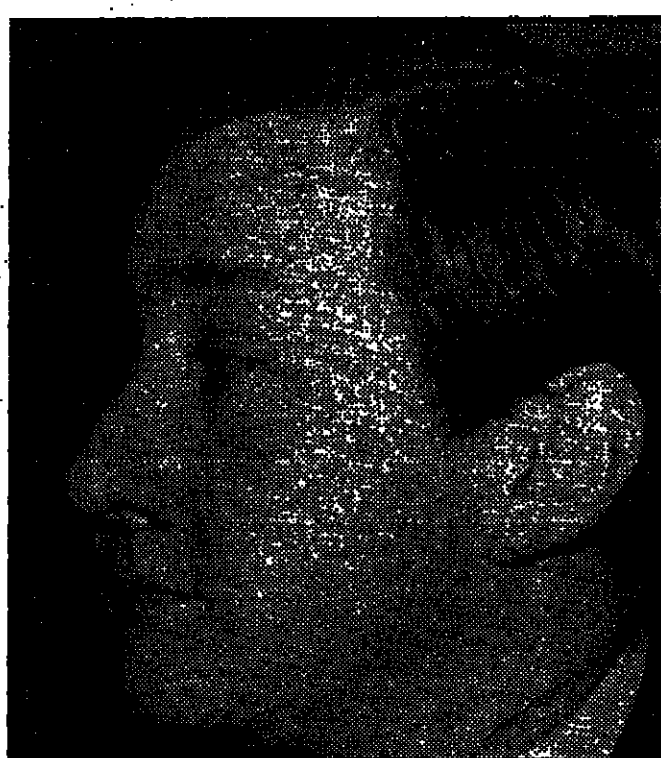


George Younger, embroiled in the rates

Could you work out if Reagan was celebrating v-day or the start of the cold war?



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Michael Bettaney: letter from prison cell

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IT HAS been one of the great political sights of the year—the Scottish Tories, these most traditional Conservatives in rampant opposition to their Government. Mrs Thatcher, when she flies to Perth today, is going to find that the rallying speech has a purpose, for a change. Of course, she will get her legal ovation. Nothing less would be decent. But no-one who heard the muted applause—accompanied by an awkward crouching ovation—for George Younger yesterday could doubt that the Aberdeen ramparts are threatening to crumble still further.

The rates imbroglio, in which Mr Younger is still sunk despite his promise of £40 million in extra aid, has highlighted the weaknesses of the Conservatives in Scotland. It was long evident in electoral performance, but often obscured by the huge parliamentary majority at Westminster and the traditional sympathy which has characterised the party's relationship with Mrs Thatcher.

That has gone now. The amiable Mr Younger, whose Cabinet face has been one of sweet reason, in deliberate contrast to the Tebbit/Lawson scowl, found it difficult yesterday to deal with a conference which cheered a Tory councillor who warned that their throats were about to be cut at the next election and another who spoke darkly of "the ratepayers' revenge."

It is a break with tradition. In the audience sat Lord Home, who still gets his standing ovation for his mere appearance in the hall, but around him were gathered an altogether more raucous crew, seemingly changed utterly from the docile be-wedded ranks of the past. The rates have made them angry, and in that row—brought on by revaluation and made worse by the cuts in the rate support grant—there are warnings for Mrs Thatcher.

As usual the old code was employed first. The Government's propaganda was inadequate; its ministers too gloomy; its judgment of the public mood faulty. That much was predictable, since Tory conferences attribute their Government's failings to poor communications as often as Labour conferences blame the capitalist press.

But later it was clear that this year they were not content with shooting the messenger who brought the bad news. They were at last convinced that the news was bad in the first place.

It is not more than three years since Mr Malcolm Rifkind had a series of stand-

ing ovations for proposing some of the reforms in local government spending controls which this time had caused such agony. It is not long, as Mr Younger felt necessary to point out, since conference after conference refused to accept a single formula for rates reform.

What was extraordinary was the promise of new aid, and a pledge of legislation before the next election was not good enough. With a new ginger group due to meet in Perth this morning and the ladies of a certain age joining enthusiastically in the applause for the Government, it is evident that there is a genuine change of mood among the Tories.

It cannot be solved easily, of course. There is no unity available for the Government in any of the obvious solutions. The poll-taxers of the Right were active yesterday, fair and democratic, they said it was—but they still had to do battle with the wets who will stand up against such a change. The difficulties, as Mr Younger well knows, cannot be solved by ingenious deals with the Treasury.

Mrs Thatcher is accustomed to come to Perth to lead a happy band which is there to be led. This year they want more. They will get their reassurance of rates reform—a promise in which Mr Younger was clearly meant to be the warm-up act—but behind it all there is a quivering unease that is striking.

Nowhere else in Britain does the Conservative Party show so much less electoral support. In the past, sheer faith has carried them through. Now, deep in mid-term, it seems that even the diehards are concerned. Mr John Selwyn Gummer watched yesterday's events with a wary eye, doubtless worrying lest such restlessness starts to spread.

They said last night that it had been a lively debate—the Tory euphemism for trouble. Sir Hector Monroe, MP for Dumfriesshire and a most traditional soul, even found it convenient—perhaps necessary—to paint himself as a radical asking more from the party chiefs. To the old hands it was the witches' warning: if Hector is worried, who is left?

When Mrs Thatcher arrives today, Mr Gummer might find a moment to give her a word of warning. What is interesting is how she will react. This time, the defiant style might not be enough.

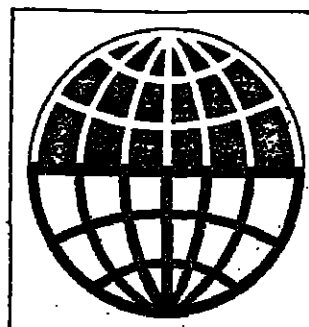
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THIRD COLUMN

Fabian fudge

ABOUT 50 people — 60, to be charitable — are gathered together in a committee room in County Hall to attend a meeting organised by the Labour Aid and Development Committee. There is an atmosphere of progressive colonialism, shades of the old Fabian Colonial Bureau. The meeting is to be addressed by the deputy leader of the Labour Party, Roy Hattersley, no less, as well as by minor luminaries like Dame Judith Hart and Stuart Holland, the shadow spokesman for overseas development. This is not, we are told, an official organ of the Party, but a pressure group, within it on Third World issues.

"I'm afraid I have a disappointment for you," says Debbie in the chair rather crisply. Roy Hattersley, it appears, is unable to come. Trouble in the PLP. Other speakers, too, have other commitments and have to slip away early. It's always difficult to fit development into an MP's busy schedule. But before he disappears, glossy with enthusiasm, Stuart Holland just has time to launch into a party political broadcast on behalf of the Tigre People's Liberation Front, and to denounce the deficiencies of Ethiopian famine relief.

Though he would deny it vigorously, Holland — like most of the Labour Party's Third World advocates — is an old-style Fabian colonialist, cloaking essentially imperialist attitudes behind a veneer of internationalism. He keeps up a steady flow of development babble:

"market forces... role of multi-national capital... food aid debate... water development worldwide... important role of non-governmental agencies... like-minded multilateralism... fulfilling certain basic criteria... reverse conditionality... challenging vertical distribution of income... pluralism within a mixed market sector... need approach... two more points if I may, Debbie... need to challenge hegemony of multinational capital... largest feasible macro view of world recovery."

And then Debbie comes to the rescue. "Thank you, Stuart, for getting us off to such a good start. And we're on to what Labour would actually do, were it ever to regain power. In particular what would it do about the World Bank and the IMF, which are largely responsible for many of the problems of the Third World?"

In a recent book by Teresa Hayter and Catherine Watson (Aid: Rhetoric and Reality, Pluto, £4.95), the authors call for a British withdrawal from these two institutions. Withdrawal, they suggest, would only make "a small dent in the post-war hegemony of the World Bank in Western aid policies," but it would at least weaken it, "both by depriving it of finance and of some of the political legitimacy which enables it to maintain the pretence of impartiality."

Stuart Holland rejects anything so dramatic. Fabianism, he wants change, but he agrees that Labour is "unlikely in the short term to change the policies of the Bank and the Fund single-handed. But we shall be working with others..." he adds wistfully.

Terry Davis, No. two in Labour's Treasury team and standing in for Roy Hattersley, also strikes "a note of caution about what we can realistically achieve." There is talk of "adding our weight to other countries such as Holland and Scandinavia who tend to have a more radical, more radical approach to such matters." Terry Davis, an unapologetic chauvinist, has no desire to say goodbye to the World Bank. There is a need, he says in reply to questions, for more World Bank aid for birth control.

Judith Hart, never happier than when trying to dam the Limpopo or to change the face of Mozambican agriculture, is more radical. After years at the development front, she has become increasingly outspoken. "The changes that are needed at the Bank and the Fund," she says "are so radical, and so far-reaching, that I doubt whether we are going to get them made in the time available."

She can't quite bring herself to call for withdrawal, but says that "we should start raising a number of questions." Like, for example, "who really needs the IMF? In what other ways could help be brought to Third-World countries? And does Britain have to be one of its key members? These questions still lie on Labour's agenda. Will they be answered before the next election?"

Richard Gott

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Hemmed-in by history and different kinds of exploitation — Ugandan refugees in a Sudan camp. Picture by Sophie Baker

Drought and famine cannot be divorced from social policies, argues Mahmood Mamdani, below. How sensitive the politics of famine are is revealed through the letter, right

How to stop the fat of the land feeding off the poor

I AM sorry I have a rather bad cough today. You can say I am prone to disaster, unlike some of you in the audience who look rather resistant to it. I remember hearing a story, during the Sahelian famine of the seventies, of a fat man and a thin man. Said the fat man to the thin man, "You should be ashamed of yourself. If someone visiting the country saw you before anyone else, he would think there was a famine here." Replied the thin man, "And if he saw you next, he would know the reason for the famine!"

The simple point I am trying to make is that if you divide our society into two, into the majority prone to disaster and that minority resistant to it, you are likely to find some sort of a relation between the two.

Last year, I was doing research in Lira District. I met a capitalist farmer in one village. She had over 500 acres which she had bought (technically leased). I wondered how she could buy land in an area where people observed claim right to land quite strictly.

She replied, "The 1980 famine helped. People were in need. For the first time, they were willing to sell land, cows — things they wouldn't dream of selling in normal times." Famine, it would seem, is a disaster for the poor but an opportunity for the rich. The former are disaster-prone, the latter disaster resistant.

Disasters are not natural but social catastrophes. They are the result of social conditions: deforestation, soil erosion, desertification. Lack of rain does not cause a famine, it is simply the occasion for it. It triggers off the famine.

But why do people cut down

forests? Why do they overgraze? Why do they work the same old tired land without resting it? Is it out of malice? Or sheer ignorance? Not really.



Among the disaster-prone. Picture by Sophie Baker

I am going to talk about Uganda because this is where we are. All Africa has become much more prone to disaster in this century, and particularly in the past two decades, than it ever was before. So, I want to begin with the impact of the colonial period on the major producers of wealth, the peasants, in this country. An analysis of how this country was integrated into the colonial imperialist economy would show that there were two major forms of integration, depending on the region we may consider.

The first was where an area was turned into a cheap labour reserve. This was the migrant labour system whereby the wife remained a peasant producing food in the village, but the husband migrated as a worker to a plantation. He was employed only part-time, the rest of the year, he returned to the village and lived off the food cultivated by the wife.

The second was where an area was turned into a reserve of cheap raw materials. You take the above system, with the wife producing food and the husband cheap labour and collapse the distance between the husband and the wife.

With the wife still producing food and the husband producing an export crop, you now have a cheap raw material reserve. Cheap because the family produced its own food. The cash it got from selling cotton or coffee was just to pay tax and to buy a few manufactured necessities.

Now, in Uganda, there were quite a few cheap labour reserves at the outset of colonial rule: Lango, Acholi, West Nile, Kigezi. But in the 1920s, as the Belgians increased exploitation in Rwanda, the Banyarwanda peasants began to emigrate to Uganda. In the late 50s again there was out-migration from Rwanda due to a political crisis. As a result, the British introduced cash crop production in Lango and Acholi in the 1920s and then in West Nile in the 1950s.

Today the only remaining cheap labour reserve is Kigezi. The rest of the country continues to be a cheap raw material reserve.

Now the whole system of cheap raw material production required two conditions.

One, that labour meets a substantial part of its own cost of production (food cost). And two, that labour remains the major input in production; or, to put it differently, that the technological base remains low.

The above remains the general condition of the Uganda peasantry today. The peasant is essentially trapped in two main types of exploitation.

The first is exploitation through unequal market relations where you sell cheap and buy expensive. This is monopoly exploitation, whether by state or private agencies.

In July, 1984, I investigated the millet trade in Lira District and discovered that the peasant received just 25 per cent of the final price of millet.

In December, 1983, I researched the coffee trade in Buganda. My data showed that the peasant received exactly 18.96 per cent of what the government got in the world market for the same coffee.

You would be surprised by how constant this proportion has been since the colonial period, whether in the first independent government, or in the Amin period or now.

The details vary from region to region. But together, they amount to three types of forcible exactions. These may be forced labour, forced land, forced cash contributions for the party or the church.

The result of this dual exploitation — that through unequal market relations and that through direct force — is that the peasant operates with a permanent handicap: his surplus product is regularly siphoned off. His cash income is barely enough to meet immediate needs: for tax, to replenish a hoe or buy some salt or medicine. Peasants don't eat sugar any more; in many villages in the north, they can't even buy soap any more.

The point is that the peasant is forced to begin the production cycle each time with roughly the same or even worse technical base than the previous time around. Walter Rodney wrote that the African peasant entered colo-

onialism with a hoe and came out of it with a hoe. He should have added that the hoe the peasant entered with was locally produced, the one he came out with was imported.

To grasp the point better, let us look at the peasant's labour process. It consists of three elements: land, labour, and implements of labour. We have seen that the peasant has little choice so far as the implements are concerned: his technology is relatively stagnant. To get out of a crisis or to endeavour for prosperity, what does a peasant do? He uses whatever control he has, over land and over labour.

He works the tired land over and over. Why is it that periods of fallow are getting shorter and shorter in the past years? Or that cassava is replacing matoke and beans on Entebbe Road?

At the same time, the peasant has as many children as possible to maximise the labour at his disposal. For a middle-class family, a child may be just a mouth to feed for 20 years, but for a peasant family after only four years the child is also two hands to work. People are not poor because they have large families; they have large families because they are poor!

What is to be done? To begin with, it is necessary to safeguard against utopian thinking, against looking for a solution outside the parameters of the problem by introducing it from without. We must be realistic and find the solution internally.

From this perspective, we can correctly define the role of relief or foreign aid. It can only be complementary to a local solution, not a substi-

tute for it. Failure to understand this can even compound the problem. During the Sahel famine of the 70s, for example, 20 per cent of the population of Mauritania was entirely dependent on relief food by 1974.

Such assistance is not an antidote to disaster. It becomes its hand-maiden.

Only that relief is worthwhile which undermines itself in the long run; which restores the initiative of the victim, and does not strangle it; which sees victims not simply as objects to be helped, but as subjects potentially capable of transforming their disaster-prone situation.

My main point is that any strategy that claims to be a solution must seek to revive the creativity and the initiative of the people. Central to this must be to educate people about these relations which make them disaster-prone. This education must be based on investigation, concrete and independent.

If land is taken to create national parks, or just organised for the return of the land. If labour is maimed and shackled by administrative coercion, we must organise to remove that coercion. If products of labour are appropriated through monopolistic market practices, we must organise to change these.

Simply put, we must organise concretely, organise on the basis of a common education and educate on the basis of independent and popular investigation.

This is the edited text of a talk given to the Uganda Red Cross conference on disaster prevention in Kampala on March 18, 1985.

A letter to the President of Uganda

Mr President, Dr Mahmood Mamdani, a Ugandan, an associate professor of political science and the acting dean of the faculty of social sciences, Makerere University, Kampala, has lately run into problems with your government for his committed scholarship and progressive political standpoint.

Around April 19, 1985, while away in Spain attending a conference with the permission of his vice-chancellor, Mamdani received a letter from the Immigration Department, purporting to declare him an alien in his own country. The immediate circumstances of your Excellency, which appear to have led to this arbitrary and unlawful stripping of Mamdani's citizenship, thus rendering him stateless, is a talk he gave recently to the Uganda Red Cross Conference on Disaster Prevention. The conference was held in Kampala.

The speech, your Excellency, entitled "Disaster Prevention: A Ugandan Perspective," was a critique of the role of the state in disaster prevention, and a call for a more people-oriented approach.

Soon after, officials affiliated to the Ministry of State for Security (the National Investigations Department) handed him a letter from the Immigration Department, purporting to declare him an alien in his own country. The letter was signed by the Minister of State for Security, Dr. K. I. Tumbi.

Dr Mamdani has written extensively on his country. He is the author of *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda and the East African Region*, published by the Faculty of Social Sciences, Makerere University.

During the Amin period, Dr Mamdani was in exile in the UK. He was the first African to be awarded a PhD by this university.

In view of your Excellency's position as Chancellor of the University of Makerere and your known progressive stance on academic excellence and on rights of citizens in a democratic society, we appeal to you to intervene and stop this harassment and restore Dr Mamdani's citizenship.

Dr K. I. Tumbi, Chairman of Dar es Salaam Academic Staff Assembly.

- African countries with food shortages: Angola, Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Sudan, Ethiopia, Botswana, Burundi, Cape Verde, Kenya, Lesotho, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Tanzania, Zambia.
- UN estimate of emergency needs \$1.5 billion including \$1,078 million for food aid and transport and \$81 million for water projects.

- 150 million Africans threatened by famine.
- Food production has declined by 15 per cent since 1981.
- Food imports feed 1 in 5 Africans.
- Grain yields per hectare have fallen by a third in a decade.
- Industrial capacity is working at a third of its potential.
- Africa's interest payments are \$15 billion a year.

BANGLADESH

Upazilla struggle

President Ershad talks to Robert Bradnock on the eve of this week's elections

UNDAUNTED by continued rebuffs from the political parties or by the apathetic response of the electorate to his recent presidential referendum, President Ershad is urging Bangladeshis to the polls once more next week. Using his complete control of the media, he is giving daily prominence to the elections for the apparently mundane posts of chairman for the 460 upazillas.

From one journalist specialising in popular matters, there weren't any Africans. "Sorry about that," said the minister, "but that was the way the thing worked out. To which Othman's minister acerbically added: 'There's no point in a lot of white chaps sitting and talking like this without our partners from Africa.'"

The "thing," as the minister called it, was a low-keyed Africa event attended by nearly 100 businessmen, academics and MPs. Euro as well as Westminster varieties, all apparently from the political Right. A European Conservative brief on World Hunger, offered with coffee, announced: "Malnutrition in the Third World is so normal it is almost invisible. It rarely reaches the headlines..." The coffee made more sense.

The Treasury was also missing, aid cuts (in real terms) were barely touched. Even the ODA didn't do too well: it seems to hold itself aloof from the private sector, said one businessman: it is stand-offish, said another.

— the new units of local government.

To the president the elections are a major step towards a new form of democratic government. His optimism, yet to be tested, is not widely shared. Throughout its 14-year life, Bangladesh has been beset by political crises. Successive governments, civilian and military, pandered to the interests of a tiny minority and failed to build coherent political institutions or to bring development to the millions of rural and urban poor.

President Ershad's decision to re-impose martial law on March 1 was seen by many as another step back from building democratic institutions to help break the stranglehold of a corrupt and self-serving bureaucratic and military establishment.

The president himself sees it differently, as an essential short-term check to the deliberately destructive tactics of the major opposition parties. Talking at the cantonment

residence which he occupies as chief of the armed forces, President Ershad argued that the upazilla elections are the culmination of a package of reforms, including the introduction of local self-government.

The 460 upazilla councils each serve a population of about 200,000. The new councils have been given wide-ranging powers to raise taxes, for development planning and implementation. The key to their success lies in their accountability to the local electorate which will be tested in elections every two years.

"This will encourage them to live in their districts rather than setting up home in Dhaka. It will make them take an interest in the development of their villages," said Ershad.

The president claims that the upazilla have already had one notable success. As a result of the severe flood last summer some well-informed independent agencies fore-



Ershad — optimistic

cast the probability of famine and starvation. It didn't happen. The president puts that down to the effectiveness of the councils.

Each of the 460 was organised with godowns (warehouses) and allocated stocks of grain and cash. These were freely distributed as neces-

sary. Daily reports to central government showed the level of stocks, and we were able to match the need with supply."

But the distribution of relief aid, on which Bangladesh is still heavily dependent, is not the longer term purpose of the upazilla reforms. "Billions have been poured away on useless projects or just unaccounted for. When I came I saw many aid projects, which were not at all what we needed — not at all."

He gave the example of the water board, referring to his own travels around villages. "I get a lot of complaints from villagers about not getting water. They say the water should be irrigating their land. So I ask — who's responsible for opening the sluice gates? Who keeps a record of where the water goes, who gets it, and for how long? No answer. The water board is hopeless, in chaos."

The general is critical of much of that has flooded in

over the last 15 years. He has shown himself willing to stand up to the multinational as when he banned the sale of a wide range of drugs "inappropriate to our conditions."

President Ershad is equally adamant about the new councils' first priority — population control. As he travels the country, population has become his overriding theme. In a move widely seen by his critics as an attempt to buy the Islamic vote he has started a programme to call in all the 200,000 mullahs for a six-week training programme in Dhaka. "We give them basic teaching to show that the Koran is not against family planning. Then we send them back to villages. We give them 200 taka a month and say — now teach all your people about the need for family planning."

President Ershad acknowledges the problems of absolute poverty and landlessness. "I have introduced a

land reform. We have set a land ceiling of 60 bighas (about 20 acres). But the trouble is no one really knows who owns land. Our survey records are completely out of date — quite useless. So we are making a new survey."

If that holds out a somewhat vague and distant hope for the landless, which some estimates put as high as 50 per cent of the country's families, critics are equally sceptical of legislation introduced by the president. He admits that to date it has had little effect. The lack of certainty remains one of the hallmarks of Bangladesh's politics. Even Ershad's political objectives remain largely unstated, hinted at rather than explicit. In the view of top ranking aides, including the president, there is no doubt about the president's ultimate objective. He wants to remain in control while effecting the shift from military to civilian government.

Crop failure

CASH crops for export, and used to be part of the classic prescription for "development" in Africa. Peasants of course were the first people to know how often such "development" meant destruction of their environment and previous way of farming.

Reclaiming the Earth (Channel 4, May 10, 10.30 pm) is a careful study of how many of the rural poor of Kenya have become poorer thanks to ambitious schemes, such as the Meru irrigation project, grandiose agro-industrial projects, such as the sugar alcohol factory and the buying up of land by the Masai "wheat elite."

Only corruption is omitted from the complex interlinked causes of unsuccessful development described in this instructive film. For once all the experts interviewed are Africans, and most of them are actually working on the land. The primary complaint about all donors was, "they never ask what Africans want."

Death riddle

KUWAIT, the only Gulf state with a parliament and a rather free press, has been shaken this week by the mysterious shooting of Ahmed al Farahani, one of the best-known conservative journalists in the area. He was renowned for the pro-American viewpoint of his daily paper which often reflected the point of view of the Saudi Government.

At least 200 people, many of them working as journalists, have been arrested in the aftermath of the killing.

Victoria Brittain, Third World Review editor

Tigray: War, Famine and Revolution: Day Conference 10 am-8 pm. Saturday, 11 May Susan George, John Harbuck, James Petras, W.P. Cathers, Neil West, minister Cathedral, Ambrose Ave, London, SW1. £2 waived. £1 suggested.

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etter to
President
Uganda

The political double act with a forthright challenge

Michael
Meadowcroft

THE caricature of the Alliance's doorstep approach depicted in the Guardian's leading article on Tuesday contains too much truth to be comfortably dismissed. It would, however, be dangerous to shift as effortlessly to the editorial's all too obvious solution of amalgamation of the two Alliance parties. It would equally, and for similar reasons, be foolish to regard the splendid county election results as other than beneficial to the administration of our shires and offering the potential of building political success on top of electoral success.

It is not, of course, illegitimate to analyse and to recommend with a view to short term Alliance electoral success but the need is for a better understanding of the country's malaise and of the deliverability — let alone workability — of amalgamation. Our electoral system produces "broad church" mass parties that are alliances of differing tendencies within them. To maximise a party's electoral appeal its leadership is forced to pretend that it has uniformity rather than just unity.

It is plainly nonsense but we have all grimly assented to it over the years. The Alliance simply professes that an open alliance is preferable and matches reality. Amalgamation into a closed alliance is seductive, and may well have its immediate electoral benefits, but it would be a pretence and without the potential of building political success on top of electoral success.

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Polling last week in Biddenden, Kent: a case of balance—or expediency? Picture by E. Hamilton-West

A hanging offence in the shires

BASIL JEUDA

IN MANY parts of England and Wales last week's county council election results were received with dismay by councillors and officers alike, and no more so than in those many shire counties which have been used to one party and which now found themselves "hung".

Of the 47 counties, 46 are now hung with no political group in overall control. As someone that has been through the mill in Cheshire over the past four years, I would not wish a hung council on anyone, though procedures, principally a document entitled Conventions Regarding Relations Between The Political Parties Represented on the Council, were developed and the officers came to terms with the hung council and with the need to avoid chaos and anarchy.

Cheshire, between 1981 and 1985, had four different political administrations hewn out of different political alliances and both councillors and officers with patience, tolerance and effort made it work whilst at the same time maintaining fundamental political differences.

The system had to cope with at any one time chairmen and vice-chairmen of committees from each of the political parties in any combination — and also cope with the briefing of political groups especially at budget time which led on one occasion to three separate budgets being prepared, one for each group. The main argument for securing stability in administration was the conventions document referred to earlier.

Without going too much into the details of this particular document some idea of the breadth of coverage can be best appreciated from the issues which it covered. First of all, there needed to be a definition of the governing party which was seen to be the party with the largest number of seats and the holder of the great majority of chairmanships and vice-chairmanships (for 21 years Labour, 13 years Conservative).

Secondly, there needed to be a definition relating to the nomination by other parties of their spokesmen on a particular committee or sub-committee, and indeed recognition that the governing party might need to nominate a spokesman on a committee or sub-committee where it did not have the

When the game changes, so does the guide to form

David McKie

NEWSPAPERS last weekend were packed with projections attempting to show what would happen at the next general election if the voting mirrored the pattern of the county council results. It's an unrealistic exercise, of course. Large areas of the country were excluded from Thursday's voting. The turnout was far lower than it would be at a general election. And the issues being decided were, ostensibly at least, entirely different. And in any case, virtually anything — well, not perhaps a second Falklands war, but very nearly anything — could happen between now and the moment when Mrs Thatcher gave the starting signal.

But in one respect this sudden outbreak of estimates is a healthy development. It's a sign that people are adjusting to life in a three-dimensional party system. There was a time when you had only to glance at the polls as you would at the football results to see who was winning. Occasionally the pat-

tern would be disrupted by a surge of Liberal support, but very often there were only two contenders in the race, and the one which was ahead was marked down for outright victory. The Alliance settled at around 25 per cent of the popular vote, predictions are much more awkward. The last Guardian/Marplan Index, for instance, gave Labour 39 per cent of the vote. The local elections told much the same story.

Is that good or bad for Labour? Mr Kinnoch and his colleagues think it's pretty good, and most of last week's independent experts agree that it would put Labour only just short of an overall majority.

Yet it's actually much in line with the share of the national vote which Labour took in 1979, when it was swept out of office on the wrong end of the biggest electoral support which spelled disaster six years ago. In other words, now qualifies in a three-dimensional world, as success.

The concept of "swing" which has served so well for so long, is also showing its age in the new political climate. Swing is essentially an invaluable shorthand formula for measuring the relative success and failure of two competing parties.

The Guardian Opinion Poll Accumulator

Running average of last five opinion polls up to:

	CON	LAB	SDP	Lead
end October	43	35	21	CON 8
end November	44	34	21	CON 10
end December	42	33	23	CON 9
end January	41	33	24	CON 8
end February	38	36	25	CON 2
end March	36	38	25	LAB 2
end April	36	38	25	LAB 2

There are two ways of computing it. The first is the average of one party's gain and another's loss. If the Conservatives go up six percentage points and Labour goes down four, you add six to four, divide by two, and arrive at a swing of 5 per cent. Alternatively you may be dealing with a result in which both main parties have lost ground to a third. The Conservatives are 2 points down, Labour are 4 points down and the Liberals are up by 6. In this case you take the difference between the losses of the two main

parties and divide that by two, which you do, and you arrive at a swing of 5 per cent. The Conservatives are 2 points down, Labour are 4 points down and the Liberals are up by 6. In this case you take the difference between the losses of the two main

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The dangers of punishing the solicitor

OUT OF COURT

Geoffrey Robertson

BRITISH justice appears sexist and hypocritical by branding the street prostitute a criminal while allowing her client to drive off without a stain on his character. At first blush the Sexual Offences Bill, which reaches its report stage in the Commons today, makes an even-handed adjustment by criminalising

minutes — may amount to "just" having alighted? Law teachers will delight in tormenting their students with fresh problems of statutory construction: can you be guilty of soliciting from a trike, a taxi, a C5, or a Clapham omnibus?

Let it be conceded at once that importunate kerb-crawlers are an intolerable nuisance to residents of those inner-city areas where street prostitution flourishes. And the only way of dealing with them at present, by summoning them to be bound over for breaking the peace, is inappropriate and unjust because the innocent "defendant" has no safeguards whatsoever. Eccentricities of justice continue in Nottingham. Magistrates Court, where recently the bench, in a blaze of publicity, bound a woman over to be of good behaviour in spite of its finding that he had "no immoral intent" in approaching prostitutes in a Gladstone effort to save their souls. (His mistake was to approach a prostitute woman detective on prostitute surveillance duty, whose soul may be assumed by law to be unblemished).

It follows that most cases will be brought as a result of police action, without corroborative civilian evidence. There is no right to jury trial, and magistrates will be invited to draw the inference of guilt from police observations. The fact that a car is seen to slow down in an area frequented by prostitutes, and words exchanged with a woman on the footpath, will be enough to amount to a prima facie case, and call for the driver to make his explanations — perhaps of a quite innocent request for directions — before smirking reporters in open court.

Prostitution cannot be eradicated. The task of containing it, if not in acceptable then at least a tolerable level, requires thorough-going law reform which includes a degree of decriminalisation. Successive governments have shrunk from this necessary but apparently vote-losing task, while social conditions — unemployment, drugs, pornography and the like — have made the problem considerably more acute in recent years.

But there is an easier method for police to be sure of obtaining convictions, which relieves neither on public-spirited complainant nor the uncertainties of observation evidence. It is to use police women and police informers as decoys to entrap the motorist who is minded (perhaps only after setting eyes on the decoy) to ask for sex. The use of plainclothes policemen as "agents provocateurs" on city streets is a most unattractive feature of law enforcement in some American states, and in 1982 the Policing Advisory Committee on Sexual Offences warned that the difficulties of obtaining evidence for such an offence might make it a common practice here.

If Parliament is bent on creating this new crime it should at least have sufficient regard for civil liberties to add an entrapment defence, entitling the motorist to an acquittal if he can show that his solicitation would not have been made without the encouragement by dress, deportment, gesture or words — from a police agent.

Geoffrey Robertson is a barrister and editor of the Out of Court column.

Alan Davidson, former ambassador and author of the definitive works on seafood, will be starting a food diary of a recent oriental tour next Friday. Christopher Driver reports.

Ichthyologist at large

OVER the weekend, a colour magazine writer eating a meal on Elba let the trade down by referring to the "delicious but unidentified" fish on her plate. In other words, she left her Davidson at home. In principle, there is no fish that the British traveller cannot identify by asking the waiter the local name and looking it up in Mediterranean Seafood or North Atlantic Seafood.

And for this service among others we have the selection procedures and career structure of the Foreign Office to thank. Alan Davidson, CMG, bowed out of the FO as Ambassador in Vientiane when it was intimated that his next posting would make a Whitehall warrior of him and "my blood ran cold because there was a lot more travel I wanted to do."

"Not that it is all that easy for ambassadors to travel: you are supposed to ask permission every time you leave the country you are accredited to. I was engaged on Seafood of South East Asia by that time and I had to send a telegram to London every time I took a boat across the Mekong to the fisheries research institute on the Thai side."

A Davidson despatch must have been quite an event on the south-east Asian desk back home. There was the up-country dinner at which western diplomats were finally permitted to meet and question the Pathet Lao leaders about the future of the region. Intense boredom, verging on slumber, greeted the questions until Davidson leant across the table to pursue his researches into one of the four species of snakehead fish that swim in the waterbeds of Laotian rice fields.

The insurgent leader brightened visibly. "I used to hunt them as a boy..." and his account lasted the whole meal. As Davidson concludes, "most people in the world would sooner talk food than politics and will fall over themselves to help you if you have an intense practical interest in something."

A less tolerant employer might never have sent Davidson to Laos. After his Tunis posting, where his American wife Jane had started it all by asking him for the Mediterranean fish book no one had then written, he was sent to Brussels as a jack-of-all-strategies, and settled down to write a novel between committees. Something Quite Big, a still-topical environmental thriller envisaging the kidnapping of NATO's Senior Political Committee on a bus outing, did not go down too well in Whitehall and remains unpublished.

However, the diplomatic service teaches a man a thing or two about casuistry. Davidson took the manuscript with him to Laos, where he concluded that forbidden to publish did not mean "forbidden to print." He found a priest with a printing press who said *nihil obstat* to the idea of running off 400 copies of a bibliographical curiosity: a book with a designed cover by Souvannithone, then a student, who still illustrates Davidson's work, but no author, title page, or date (1974). This did not prevent it being reviewed in Brussels anonymously by a senior member of the UK NATO delegation.

Now, still only just the wrong side of 60, Davidson has gone literally to earth in the booky basement of the family house in World's

End, Chelsea. Next week in Guardian Food and Drink he begins a food diary of a recent oriental tour, not as an old FO hand but as ichthyologist at large, organiser of the Oxford Symposium which welcome all comers to St Anthony's College to discuss culinary history and (next month) science, and author-editor of the projected Oxford Companion to Food.

The delivery date of this book has become as elastic as strudel dough ("Shall we say 1990?") partly because the subject keeps expanding and partly because he has become a publisher himself. Prospect Books, which he runs from home with his like-minded wife and daughters and a samizdat telephone number, has a turnover of £20,000 a year and a backlist of nearly 20 cookery book facsimiles (Hannah Glasse, Charles Carter, Richard Bradley and others), all sprung from the little magazine, *Petits Propos Culinaires*, which cost his little group of scholar-cooks £50 to launch six years ago.

Caviare to the cook-general, certainly: an article in the current issue of PFC is headed "Norwegian Gastronomic Literature from 1760 to 1814". Davidson's support network is as global as the British Council, whose interest in food culture, ours or theirs, is less conspicuous.

Not all ambassadors have been as successful at finding an export market for British goods, British thoughts and, it has to be said, British eccentricities. The telephone rang a belated contributor in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Davidson took a box of Swan Vests out of his reticule and parked it on the upper edge of Food Grains of India, to remind himself to ring her back.



picture of Alan Davidson by Martin Argles

Grace before meals

By Alison Prince

IN the long-dead days of the LMS and the LNER, there were smells of roast beef and engine smoke. The railway was heavy and the tables were cluttered with starch, and a swaying waiter could spruce up a pair of silver-plated pots with spoons as graceful as swan necks. British Rail changed all that. But railway dining cars remain places of hopeful nostalgia for those who remember the going to China by train lay in the chance to sample Russian and Chinese meals on wheels.

On the arrangements made by our travel company (the market was cheap Yorkshire Tours), each meal consisted of three elements, an element being a course, but being also hot or cold drink. So a meal could consist of any three (taken from zakuski (cold meats and/or cheese), soup, main course, sweet (semolina) or a little cake or a packet of orange marmalade, juice, tea or coffee at breakfast sometimes).

The dining car staff obviously expected us to eat everything up. Food was not to be wasted. But we were limited to lurching up and down the corridor, most of us found that we were offered more than we could eat, particularly at breakfast, which was served at increasingly bizarre hours as we progressed eastwards.

Moscow time holds good all over the USSR, so a kind of slow jet-lag had affected the party by the time we sat down to breakfast in broad daylight at 3 a.m. As someone remarked sourly, the train ought to be known as the Disorient Express. The meal that particular morning consisted of zakuski followed by a rather undercooked chicken leg rolling round its metal plate until it came to rest in the inevitable creamed potato and pinkish tomato sauce. And yes, it was immensely pleasurable to be sitting over a glass of tea while the white landscape rushed past outside and the pale sun gradually strengthened over by a large, crumpled man with a lugubrious face like Walter Matthau on a bad day. He dumped dishes on the table ferociously, and snatched them up when finished with as if impatient to get the decent Westerners out as soon as possible. Not daring to ask his name, we referred to him nervously as Boris.

One evening Boris had served us with eggs, cooked sun pat with lots of butter. They were excellent. Killed Jimmy sat opposite me, chewing and slowly breaking off a piece of bread with which to mop up the last salty deliciousness when Boris's hand descended to grab his plate. Jimmy, with a crumb-spitting exclamation, simply snatched it back. And to everyone's amazement, Boris broke into roars of laughter. When he was off to the kitchen to tell them about it, there was more laughter. Then he came out, spotted a Manchester United supporter's badge and announced that he used to play for Sparta. When he was all got on like a house on fire.

By the time we reached Manchuria, the dining car seemed like home and Boris a slightly irascible father-figure. But at the border, after a breakfast of semolina and caviar and a lot of official fuss, the Russian dining car came no further. After the check on passports, visas, literature, immigration and fruit (the Chinese confiscated our lemons in case they were contaminated with Soviet germs), we found later what they fetched on the black market, we made our way down the corridor for Peking-style dinner. And into a different world.

Walters in crisp white jackets were bowing deferentially, smiling like slices of canteen, and there was a general air of fretwork ying-tongy. Red tassels hung from lanterns and the tables were decked with tumbling bottles of Chinese brandy, which those who bought found to be unimpressive. Dish upon dish of food was served swiftly and politely. Prawns, cauliflower, meat, bean-curd dumplings, bowls of this soup, rice. Apart from something which became known as "the rubber bands", it was all delicious.

The Russian "provodniks" who vacuumed corridors and disposed of the rubbish from the samovar in each coach had stayed with the train and they eyed us disapprovingly as we came back again. They looked uneasy in the presence of the "Chinese menace" and clearly felt that such blatant wooing of the west was distasteful. It could have been envy — it was obvious that the Soviet crew catered for but there is also a bloody-minded honesty about Russian view of things which does not easily accept what it regards as sycophancy.

In China it is not polite to say what you mean, least of all to a foreigner. But when the train reached the frontier on the return journey and some amongst us expressed regret at losing the Chinese dining car for a Russian one, the waiter's permanent smile was unmistakably tinged with smugness.

Some of the passengers, too, were disapproving about the cabbage soup and tough meat which would be our lot for the next six days. But as we pulled away from Manchuria on the long haul to Moscow, our provodnik was singing in his cabin beside the samovar.

Christopher Driver
Food and wine editor



Edward Bardsen's May drawing for Ambrose Heath's first book, *Good Food* (1932). By permission of the artist and Faber & Faber

Name this lamb

MOST local and evening paper columns on best buys in food are something to infuriate the foodies like those produced by the British Farm Produce Council. In the nature of things, the tone is usually impersonal, but this week's caught the eye in a most surprising way. Surely, someone's lifestyle.

"There was a time when such things as pig's trotters and pig's head were much in demand. Modern shoppers seem to have got away from serving their own brains or serving trotters for tea."

The same handout's descendant on the delicacy of new English lamb, coupled with the spectacle of baby purple turnips in the greengrocer's suggested that the moment had arrived for navarin printanier. There ensued in a local butcher's one of those moments of cultural lucidity that enlighten modern Britain. An Egyptian was asking Mr Boues where his wife could obtain a lamb, not to eat out for the children to play with, but a confusion of categories, which would have frightened Roland Barthes but obviously embarrassed both parties.

The butcher's next puzzle was this Englishman's request for £10 worth of the different — mostly cheap and unpopular — lamb cuts that the navarin recipe advised to balance tastes and textures in this dish, shoulder, scrag, breast, and best end.

The explanation and preparation reminded him of a cut that had once — but only once — been requested by a customer, apparently involving a best end of neck with the breast left attached so that the skin could form a balloon stuffed with rice and herbs (can any reader supply name, nationality, recipe, or all three for this dish?).

Bottle party
ALAN Davidson's half-suppressed novel, described elsewhere on this page, has a curious counterpart in the half-suppressed 1975 Cabernet Sauvignon from Argentina chosen for quality and value for money by What Wine's professional tasters (including John Avery, a New York source) this month. There are mere 700 bottles left in Britain, because imports were banned with the invasion of the Falklands just a week after the first 12,000 bottles were landed.

Surely these 700 bottles should be hoarded for drinking at the horrendously predictable celebrations of Falkland's anniversary at ten

year intervals between now and the end of time.

Kitchen think

INFORMATION about this year's Oxford Symposium at St Anthony's College on June 29 and 30 can be had from the organiser, Tom Jaine, Allaleigh House, Allaleigh, Blackawton, near Totnes, Devon. The subject is "Science, tradition and superstition in the kitchen." The Liberal Ecology Group discuss food supply, domestic and global tomorrow at the Art Workers' Guild, 6 Queen's Square, London, WC1. Speakers include Colin Spedding, Frank Raymond and Caroline Walker.

Honest bottle

GRAN Sangredetoro Penedes 1976 (now giving way to 1977) is a Spanish red wine from the Bodegas Torres in Penedes, a few kilometres south of Barcelona in North-east Spain. The house of Torres is the largest independently owned wine firm in Spain, it has 10 per cent of the home market, and exports to 85 different countries, which is never advertised, and never exports in bulk: it sells only bottled wine. It remains a purely family business. Don Miguel Torres, at 76, controls it completely. His wife Margarita, of about the same age, is responsible for Eastern European markets.

The eldest son, Juan Maria, is manager of the import department. The younger, Miguel, who is in charge of wine-making, lately he has been much engaged with their new vineyards in Chile; and he will be responsible for the wine they are taking over in China. The daughter, Margarita, is president of Torres Wines North America.

In 1939, during the Spanish Civil War, the Torres winery was bombed; the wine ran down the gutters of Villafranca and Don Miguel sat on the kerb-edge and wept. In 1979, his Gran Coronas Black Label won the top Cabernet class in the Gault Millau wine olympics against *grands crus* of the Medoc.

Gran Sangredetoro is a big, full, well-aged wine, alcoholic but with no hint of harshness; magnificent with rich meat dishes or full flavoured cheeses. It is a cheap luxury at about £4 from Harrods, Tesco (selected branches), Victoria Wine and Tanners Wines of Shrewsbury and the Marches.

John Arlott

Surprise, surprise

In Peebles, ANICE ALEXANDER attempts an unexpected type of Scottish cooking, with a dash of hydropathic. And in Amsterdam, ADAM HODGKIN visits a restaurant without an address, designed to puzzle Nicolas Freeling's detective van der Valk.

Where once the fabled on the hills flocked to ease their jaded and debilitated nerves with eucalyptus baths and the hot

Italian mud cure, pains of the Peebles Hotel Hydro are now offered "particularly healthy meals" to restore and resuscitate. The manager, Mr Peter van Dijk, was persuaded by his own thickening waistline that his customers too had a right to nouvelle nutrition à la NACNE.

With the advice and assistance of Mary Cursitor, a senior nutritionist at Queen Margaret College, he has made some fundamental changes to the hotel's cuisine. Out go animal fats for browning and

frying and in come low-cholesterol vegetable oils. Likewise, white flour has been forsaken for wholemeal, and cream for yoghurt. The chef, Joe Turner, thickens his sauces and gravies by reducing the juices or using puree, rather than traditional roux, butter or cream.

At the lunchtime buffet table a variety of fresh vegetables — carrots, Chinese leaves, fennel, radishes, cucumber, tomatoes — are served raw. In the evening pear and chive, or apple, orange and melon salads are high fibre, low fat alternatives to fried whitebait or smoked spiced mackerel. Cock-a-leekie soup and Scotch broth add solid Scottish substance still.

But this is not a crusade, van Dijk stresses. And what he calls "basic food" such as Black Forest gateau can still be found alongside natural yoghurt fruit fools, sorbets and pear and apple pies with fresh pureed pineapple, apricots and blackcurrants.

A leaflet in every bedroom invites guests to take the option of a "health-conscious" dish on the menu, an asterisk identifies which these are. One night, roast Border lamb with apricot pilaff, on another spicy baked trout, guinea fowl

with watercress or Mexican chicken.

What makes these meals "health-conscious"? Well, for Mexican chicken the joints are rolled in wholemeal flour, then sealed in polyunsaturated vegetable oil. The sauce, of hot chilli, onions, tomato purée, orange, pineapple and a little brown sugar spiced with cinnamon and garlic, is thickened by only the finest dusting of wholemeal flour. The sweetness now unconsciously expected by many restaurant customers is mainly derived from the fructose in the assorted fruits.

Although van Dijk's health-conscious meals have not been a feature of the Hotel Hydro's menu for a single season he is sufficiently encouraged by the results — around 20 per cent of the hotel's guests choose one of these dishes each night — to consider extending this section of the menu soon and to develop special expertise in rather more esoteric fields, such as diets for coeliacs.

It is still rare for hoteliers to seek the advice of the health professionals, but van Dijk modestly denies he is breaking new ground. "I wouldn't say it's a heroic effort, but who wants to kill one's customers?"

Anice Alexander

'What I like about the new vegetarian cooks is their cheek'

THE best party food for many a year came my way at the launch of Jean Conil's *Cuisine Vegetarienne*.

Francis (Chorsons £9.95). It takes at first a suspension of belief to associate French food with vegetarianism. Or it did in me. When I was from the Bodegas Torres in Penedes, a few kilometres south of Barcelona in North-east Spain. The house of Torres is the largest independently owned wine firm in Spain, it has 10 per cent of the home market, and exports to 85 different countries, which is never advertised, and never exports in bulk: it sells only bottled wine. It remains a purely family business. Don Miguel Torres, at 76, controls it completely. His wife Margarita, of about the same age, is responsible for Eastern European markets.

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Jean Conil: reckless, but it works

recipes would have had six. To the flageolet puree M. Conil adds a pinch each of coriander and cayenne pepper, a tablespoon of tomato puree, a teaspoon of raw cane sugar and a finely chopped onion. The avocado puree has spinach, onion, tomatoes, tomato puree and a good pinch of paprika. M. Conil is fond of good pinches. It is these, I believe, which give his recipes an added resonance, so that one meditates on the flavours and tries to work out what is that extra something. The Roquefort puree is an excellent example. It took me some time to pin down the port, yet the brilliant combination here is to mix the cheese with the celeriac and that mysterious "good pinch of celery seeds".

Perhaps the French tradition shows most in adapting the French classics. Pate Clamart is made from fresh peas. Clamart used to be the district in Paris for the best terms means to cook peas in the French style. These are generally somewhat older peas than we use, so they are stewed with lettuce and onion. M. Conil's pate, of course, uses these ingredients. And I am ashamed to say that though peas Clamart is a dish I cook and an particularly fond of, I would never have dreamt of adding lettuce to a pate of peas.

I have lingered on the pates because these were prominent at the launch of the book and I made a pig of myself in tasting them. But there was also displayed and eaten a magnificent Coulbiac. What I like about the new vegetarian cooks is their cheek. Coulbiac is a traditional Russian recipe for brioche pastry stuffed with salmon, mushrooms and kasha. There have been many variations made from other fish, but a coulbiac generally involves fish fillets, combined with a fish mousse, mushrooms and herbs. It is a classic and sumptuous dish, the brioche casing often made to look like a giant fish. Jan Conil's impudence is to recreate it as Coulbiac de Riz aux Champignons Baronne de Juniac, to flavour it with parsley, almonds and gurgers and to make it look as elegant as the original. But the whole book is full of new ideas where the invention is sure and imagination rooted in the classical traditions. And God bless Jean Conil, not a nut outlet in sight.

La Tapena aux Olives Noires

1 pinch grated nutmeg or mace
2 tablespoons soya sauce
2 tablespoons wine vinegar
1 tablespoon yeast extract
2 fl oz (60ml) olive oil
Pinch dried tarragon
1 teaspoon raw cane sugar or black treacle
Freshly ground black pepper

Combine all the ingredients in a blender and liquidise to a paste. Alternatively, mince the ingredients to a coarse paste. Then beat the mixture to blend the ingredients thoroughly.

This pate will keep well, stored in the fridge. Serve on a wholemeal toast or as a filling for tomatoes or cucumbers. For a lighter mixture, add 4 fl oz (120ml) whipped cream. The dish can then be served as a dip.

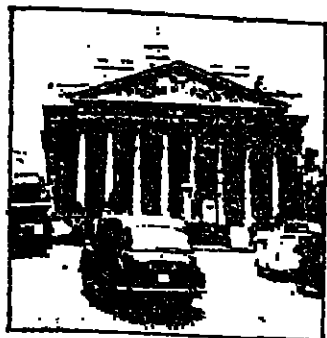
Le Pate de Roquefort au Celeri-Rave

1/2 lb (225g) celeriac, peeled and sliced
4oz (100g) cream cheese
1/2 lb (225g) Roquefort cheese
1 good pinch grated nutmeg and celery seeds
Freshly ground black pepper
1 teaspoon sea salt
1 tablespoon freshly chopped parsley or coriander leaves
3 fl oz (90ml) ruby port

Boil the celeriac in enough water to just cover for 10 minutes, or until soft. Drain and puree through a sieve over a bowl. Blend the puree with the cream cheese and Roquefort. Reheat to bubbling point and either liquidise or pass through a sieve again. When the mixture is cold, season and blend in the chopped parsley. Add the port and mix well. Serve in individual ramekins. Garnish with celery and serve with hot wholemeal toast.

Colin Spencer

Fiat and Ford...there is certainly a romance but no wedding bells just yet



NOTEBOOK

Edited by Hamish McRae

ITALY is agog with the notion that Fiat might be merging with Ford. The companies agree that they are having talks but won't explain what they are about. Their reticence has encouraged the Italian scribes to

redouble their efforts to marry the two. That is the story so far, and there is a simple, logical, single sentence conclusion to the chapter. It would be that the two companies are collaborating in some aspect of development, like common floor-panels, engines or transmissions. Given the enormous cost of developing new products, and the similar size of the main European producers, joint development is the only sensible way forward in the European market.

The Japanese marriage to produce completely new cars, not just new engines or new bodies, in ever shorter time scales. But the European producers, with six of them (Fiat, Ford, GM, Peugeot, Citroën, VW and Renault), all with some 12 per cent of the market, cannot afford the luxuries that is possible in the US domestic market, or in Japan.

So it would be logical for any of these six to try to cut development costs. It is logical too, for Ford and

Fiat to join together because by the standards of the highly competitive EEC countries, they do not compete very directly. Sure, they produce a not dissimilar range of cars, with Fiat skewed only slightly towards the small end, but they sell them in rather different markets. Fiat does not do well in Northern Europe; Ford does not do well in the Mediterranean region.

But in the end there will have to be substantial rationalisation of European car capacity. In the end, mergers look inevitable. And that is why the Fiat/Ford talks have a tantalising air: if not now, maybe later?

Chart miss

A SUDDEN plunge in the dollar place yesterday, carrying it down to DM 3.1225 and pushing the pound up more than 3 cents to £1.2360.

Considered reaction to the latest statement by Paul Volcker? Some new US eco-

nomic indicators showing even slower growth? Another gaffe by the President?

Actually, no. In so far as there was any sensible explanation of the unexplained (see next note) it was that the dollar, which had previously been strengthening, just failed to cross the DM3.20 point on the charts. This failure is apparently of significance to the chartist sect, and accordingly the currency fell back again. So there.

More interesting, in a way, is the dog that hasn't barked: the way the British markets have managed to take those awful money supply figures in their stride without the carnage in the gilt market that might have been expected.

Next month's money supply figures will receive considerable help not just from any unwinding of those special factors which supposedly contributed to last month's surge in bank borrowing. They will also be helped by the capital-raising

activities of the banks themselves.

These new floating notes count as net non-deposit liabilities in the money figures. The effect will be to transfer a block of roughly £1 billion out of sterling M3. Since the pool of sterling M3 is over £110 billion, that means that — other things being equal — money supply will be reduced by nearly 1 per cent. It may not turn out as simple as that but you can see why the Bank of England is so keen on this method to boost their capital ratios.

Helpful idea

A COMMONS committee has just been set up to look at the mismanagement of the dollar and the actions which should be taken both nationally and internationally to deal with it.

Such a sweeping brief does rather raise the retort that if they can explain why the dollar has been so strong

they will have done better than the entire international financial community. But it is a helpful idea, none the less.

This is because discussion of exchange policy (such as it is) has for too long been stifled by a set of practices which date back to the days of the fixed exchange rate, painfully defended by intervention by the Bank of England.

For example, even now we cannot get a precise figure of Bank intervention in the currency markets, though the case for such secrecy died long ago. You could justify, perhaps, some delay in publishing such figures on the grounds that the market should be kept guessing, but not the obsessive secrecy that still surrounds the matter.

Take another example. It would be very helpful to know what assumption the Treasury makes on the exchange rate and the oil price in its calculations of likely revenue from oil. It would not tell the mar-

ket anything it could not reasonably guess. But it would remove, or rather clarify, one uncertainty in public finances, without putting HMG to any particular disadvantage.

If the committee does manage to rubbish a bit of the "state secret" aspect of exchange rate policy it will have done a useful job — and if it discovers why exchange rates move in the way they do, its members can doubtless pick up a few lucrative consultancies in the City to boot.

Brokers' delight

"TWAS a famous victory: the Stock Exchange Council's change of heart over the share ceiling and the new tap of shares will give heart to the medium-sized and small brokers."

For a market which prides itself on dealing skills it always appeared odd that the price of individual members' shares should not be left to market forces. Obviously, the

exchange had to pacify the Bank of England that the costs of entry for outsiders would not be too great. But it always seemed extremely unlikely that share prices could soar to such heights that anybody who was committed to trading would be put off. After all, think what some banks have paid for second-line brokers.

Many of the members of the smaller firms who have successfully led the lobby have been motivated by money. But they also appreciated that £10,000 or rather £100,000 for a new outsider — was hardly a barrier.

Whether the changes are enough to persuade members to carry the crucial vote is another matter. But the danger is now that if they throw out the new proposals the council could very easily steam ahead with the other rule changes. This would leave members for the time being with worthless 5p shares — and not a penny in their pockets. The council writ now looks secure.

Contract yet to be ratified but remaining jobs look safe

Bangkok throws £385 m lifeline to Leyland Bus

By David Simpson, Business Correspondent

BLE struggling Leyland Bus subsidiary was yesterday thrown an invaluable lifeline when it was given notice of a £385 million contract from Thailand to re-equip Bangkok's bus fleet.

The Bangkok Mass Transit Authority announced it had chosen a Leyland-Bus-led consortium to supply 4,000 new vehicles and restructure the city's transport system over the next five years.

Leyland Bus adopted a more cautious attitude to the contract, pointing out that it was still a matter for negotiation and was unlikely to be formally awarded until October or November. If and when the details of the contract are agreed, it must still be endorsed by the Thai government.

But barring disaster, it does appear that Leyland, which tendered for the contract last year in competition with four other bidders from Europe and Japan, is well down the path to gaining its largest-ever order for buses.

Leyland's partners in the consortium are the National Bus Company, due to be privatised this year, and the London-based consultants, MVA, reflecting the fact that the contract is not only for the supply of vehicles but includes building maintenance depots, establishing a training programme, and reorganising the transit authority's management structure.

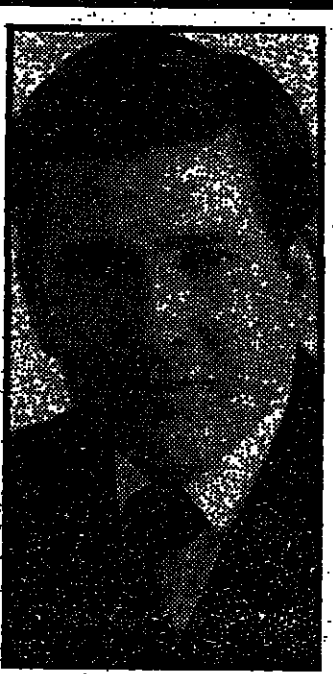
On the vehicle side, Leyland will be expected to provide 4,000 ordinary and air-conditioned buses, including 1,800 double-deckers.

A Leyland spokesman said yesterday that the Bangkok contract would ultimately mean in employment terms until it has been ratified, but that it would certainly guarantee security for the company's remaining 3,000 work force at three plants, near Preston, in Worthington and in Lowestoft.

Over the last five years, a collapse in UK demand for buses has led to the company cutting its employee level from 6,000 workers, and there have been no signs recently of any recovery in the domestic market.

The UK bus market overall has fallen by half since 1980, with the effects of the general recession compounded first by cuts in public spending and local authority grants, and then most recently by the Transport Bill, which has led local authorities to defer re-equipping or extending their fleets.

Leyland's own share of the declining market slipped badly last year, from 49.7 per cent in 1983 to 46.6 per cent, and the company incurred a substantial loss having closed its way back to profitability only the previous year. All told, Leyland Vehicles, which incorporates Leyland Bus, recorded a £81 million operating loss last year.



Lord Camoys

Camoys calls for ban

By Margaret Pagano

LORD Camoys, vice chairman of Barclays Merchant Bank, yesterday urged the Government to act immediately to stop all off-market trading by non-Stock Exchange members.

He said the Government should either introduce legislation or a penal tax on all foreign and UK institutions which are making markets outside the Exchange. "If the Government really cared about investor protection and the competitiveness of London as an international market then it should stop all the firms which are trading outside. It is a sloppy thinking to believe that London's doors can be opened without the danger of the central market fragmenting," he said. "Everyone should be able to compete on an equal footing."

"All politicians should be concerned that the Stock Exchange could bring forward big bang if it believes that the danger becomes too great," he added. "Investors are not being protected." Lord Camoys is also chief executive of the Barclays de Zoete Wedd group, one of the largest securities to merchant banking groups to be created in the City's revolution.

So far the Government has taken little notice of the Stock Exchange's threats that unless it moves swiftly to prevent further off-market trading the Exchange could bring forward the big bang timetable.

But pressure within the Exchange is mounting and it could only take the entry of another major financial institution, such as one of the giant US broking houses, for it to carry out its threat.

Lord Camoys said the planned merger between the three groups, which will leave de Zoete and Wedd partners with a 25 per cent stake, is moving fast.

Obstacles on Royal's path to recovery

By Mary Brasier

Earthquakes in Chile, hailstorms in Australia, and a lot of car crashes in the UK have thrown Royal Insurance off its expected recovery path in the opening three months of 1985.

The group yesterday unveiled losses of £37.3 million for the first quarter, up from £20.4 million last year. Underwriting results deteriorated in every single area of the group's general insurance business, with a particularly sharp fall in the motor and fire sectors.

The chief executive, Mr Alan Horsford, blamed weather losses of £50 million as well as the continuing inadequacy of many prices. "Big price increases across the range of Royal's portfolio are being put through, and Mr Horsford is still confident that Royal will start to show better results in the final quarter of 1985 and certainly in 1986, after a disastrous year in 1984.

UK motor premiums are

being increased to meet a largely unexplained escalation of claims. Royal UK losses rose from £7 million to £11.2 million, partly reflecting a 12.5 per cent jump in motor claims, and some motorists will be facing 13 per cent higher premiums as a result.

A May rate increase averaging 5 per cent was brought forward to March, and another of about seven per cent for comparatively higher risk drivers will follow on the first of next month.

Bad results from Australia and the international division reflect on fire, hailstorms, and a Chilean earthquake which added nearly £2 million to losses alone. Canada continues to suffer from the need to strengthen reserves against bush fires, hailstorms, and losses have increased by £5 million.

Royal shares jumped 23p to 611p as the City looked forward to profits of perhaps £45 million this year despite the initial setback.

Intasun in £100m deal with Ramada

By Geoffrey Gibbs

Mr Harry Goodman's Intasun Leisure Group is making a determined move into the buoyant UK hotels market by joining forces with the American hotels combine Ramada.

The two companies yesterday announced the formation of a joint venture company with £100 million to invest in up to 10 hotels in London and the provinces over the next four years.

The alliance is a further mark of the desert of confidence being expressed in the UK hotels industry, particularly in London. Earlier this month, Holiday Inns, the world's largest hotels group, unveiled a planned £160 million UK investment as part of a huge European expansion programme.

Intasun's link up with Ramada comes only six months after the group was thwarted in a bid for the Comfort Ho-

tels chain and is consistent with its policy of diversifying away from reliance on the British package holidays markets.

At present, Intasun's direct involvement in the hotels business is confined to the 550 room Barbican City Hotel in London, acquired in March for £7.5 million. But the group is also acquiring two hotels in Majorca as part of the Global Holidays takeover, and has linked with Ledbrooke to establish resort hotels in the Mediterranean.

Mr Goodman said the joint venture company — expected to be 80 per cent owned by Intasun — hoped to announce its first purchase this summer.

Intasun is experiencing a "mad rush of late bookings" for the summer season and expects to end the year with a marginal improvement in carrying the directors said yesterday. Current bookings are down 11 per cent compared with the industry figure of 25 per cent.

Posgate's 'facetious note'

By Mary Brasier

A note from the Lloyd's underwriter, Mr Ian Posgate, to Mr Ken Grob asking for a picture was a "facetious remark with no serious intent," Mr Posgate claimed yesterday.

The memo was raised by counsel for Lloyd's on the third day of the appeal hearing against findings by Lloyd's disciplinary committee that Mr Posgate should be expelled

from the insurance market for impropriety.

Mr Peter Scott, QC for Lloyd's, said gifts of a Pissarro painting worth £74,000 and shares in a Swiss bank to Mr Posgate were of a size and given in circumstances which meant they were not "just the equivalent of a gold watch for services rendered." Lloyd's has said they were intended to influence Mr Posgate's underwriting.

SE members win share rule concessions

By Margaret Pagano, City Correspondent

Stock Exchange members have won the battle to have the controversial £10,000 ceiling on their shares scrapped and the proposed cap of 25 shares at £2,000 each in the exchange withdrawn.

This is a victory for members of the small to medium sized stockbroking firms who have objected to these two key proposals ever since they were outlined in the published white paper in March. The value of the new shares will be left to market forces of supply and demand.

Members will be told of the concessions in a letter sent to them today by Sir Nicholas

Goodison, the exchange's chairman. The letter also says that members of the smaller firms, with fewer than 10 partners, will not need to apply to the council for dispensation from the proposed rule requiring existing firms to hold 50 shares.

Sir Nicholas admits in the letter that the white paper's dispensation proposal had been badly worded and that firms that members will need only their present one-share unit, which is to be split into five.

The council hopes that these concessions will be enough to appease members who will have to vote on the new membership rule changes on June 4.

Wellcome's Vane quits

By James Ertlichman, Chemicals Correspondent

Sir John Vane, the Nobel Prize winning research director of the Wellcome pharmaceutical group, has decided to resign and will leave the company in September.

His departure from the company after 12 years has not been fully explained, but it must come as an enormous blow to Wellcome, which has long been a two-headed research organisation, with Sir James Black, who discovered the two most profit-

able drugs in the world, resigned as Wellcome's director of therapeutic research in June, 1984. He has since returned to the academic world.

It is understood that Sir John, who is 58, has also been working for another drug company and will return to academic life. His research into the mechanism of how aspirin really works, which won him the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1982, was begun when he was a professor of pharmacology at the Royal College of Surgeons in London.

Murdoch to sell papers in US for TV empire

From Alex Brummer in Washington

The publisher, Mr Rupert Murdoch, yesterday signalled that he intends to sell his two largest newspapers in the United States, the New York Post and the Chicago Sun Times, to meet Federal requirements which prevent him owning television stations and newspapers in the same city.

An adviser to Mr Murdoch, Mr Howard Rubinstein, said that Mr Murdoch "would not be seeking a waiver" from the Federal Communications Commission which might allow him to maintain control of both the TV and newspaper interests. Mr Rubinstein also said that Mr Murdoch was "preparing his application for American citizenship in the normal way" and rejected suggestions that the Australian publisher would seek to expedite the process. The FCC has insisted that major television stations are in American hands.

The decision to sell his major big city newspapers comes less than a week after the publisher and his 21st Century Fox partner, Mr Marvin Davis, paid some \$2 billion for six television stations divested by the Multimedia Group. He has agreed to sell one of the stations to the Hearst newspaper group for \$450 million.

But in taking on the Multimedia stations Mr Murdoch is also assuming a heavy debt burden — in the form of "junk" bonds which were used by Multimedia's management to take the firm private last year. Analysts believe that among the reasons for Mr Murdoch's decision to sell the two news papers and the Village Voice magazine is the need to raise cash to reduce the debt burden which he has taken on with his two most recent purchases, a 21st Century Fox and Multimedia.

Neither the New York or Chicago newspapers are thought to be money spinners. The sensational New York Post is believed to be losing up to \$10 million a year and the Chicago Sun Times — which is involved in an expensive circulation war with the Chicago Tribune — is reportedly only marginally profitable.

The Anglo-French financier, Sir James Goldsmith, has stepped up his pressure on the Crown-Zellerbach paper group with the purchase of a further 10 per cent stake in the company at a value of about \$119 million. There was some speculation that the shares had been bought from Mr Ivan Boesky, the famous Wall Street arbitrator.

The new purchase raises Sir James's holding to 19.6 per cent. Sir James was quoted as saying yesterday that he favoured a Crown-Zellerbach plan to restructure the firm that would spin-off its timber and plastics arms placing them in separate companies.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Stores' defence

THE Debenhams chairman, Mr Robert Thornton, is planning a pre-emptive strike against rumoured attempts to takeover the stores group.

Debenhams is negotiating a big acquisition which it hopes will thwart a hostile bid. Discussions are well advanced and Mr Thornton hopes to announce a deal in the next few weeks. Details page 23.

APPLICATION lists for the £600 million offering of shares on British Aerospace close this morning.

THERE was a sharp upturn in the rate of UK company failures last month, the credit insurance company, Trade Indemnity reported yesterday, with 231 businesses going bankrupt, 12.2 per cent more than in April last year. This takes the total insolvencies so far in 1985 to a level 5.4 per cent higher than over the first four months of 1984.

THIS month many banks have abandoned the free Eurocheque encashment card in favour of the uniform Eurocheque, for which they charge. Weekend Money tomorrow explains what the bank is offering what, and the advantages of the new scheme.

Minister is twisting the statistics on jobs, says Labour

By David Simpson and Michael Smith

Claims by the Employment Secretary, Mr Tom King, that unemployment levels owe much to the record size of the UK workforce, were immediately challenged yesterday by the Shadow employment spokesman, Mr John Prescott, who accused the government of twisting statistics to excuse its failure to create new jobs.

Mr Prescott's charges form a prelude to a renewed attack on the government's economic policies which Labour is to mount next week, through a Commons debate on the decline of Britain's manufacturing industries.

Speaking at an advertising awards lunch, Mr King said that preliminary indications showed that the labour force rose in the year to June, 1984, by 430,000 people, to a record of 26,450,000.

This increase was the largest since records began in 1971. "These figures show the size of the challenge we face in bringing down unemployment."

Although the number of jobs in the economy is rising rapidly, by more than a third of a million alone in 1984, we need to progress even faster if we are to cope with the remarkable rise in people joining the labour market.

Mr Prescott poured scorn on Mr King's arguments, and in a letter sent last night to the Employment Secretary, points out that 1984 was the first year in which the size of the

labour force rose since the Tories came to power in 1979. During the 1979-79 Labor Government, Mr Prescott wrote, the size of the labour force rose by 882,000 while between 1980 and 1983, it fell by almost 200,000 people. Over the same period, he adds, unemployment doubled.

"I would be grateful for your observations on these figures as the increasingly loose use of statistics by members of the government of which your speech today is just the latest example can so easily be confused with facts."

The lead in next week's debate will be taken by the Opposition Trade and Industry spokesman, Mr John Smith, who will base his assault on the UK's £4 billion trade deficit in manufactured goods. Labour is likely to emphasise the crucial importance of a strong manufacturing base to create long-term wealth and provide the source of business for many new jobs in the service industries.

The government has been under intense attack recently for failing to appreciate the necessity of maintaining a manufacturing base and for placing too much reliance upon the expansion of service industries. The GEC chief, Lord Weinstock, and the ICI chairman, Mr John Harvey-Jones, recently dismissed as "absolute rubbish" government beliefs that the growth of service industries would outpace the decline in the manufacturing industry.

The Royal Bank of Scotland Group plc

INTERIM RESULTS: PRE-TAX PROFITS UP 34%

SUMMARY OF KEY FIGURES (Unaudited)	6 months ended	6 months ended	12 months ended
	31.3.85	31.3.84	30.9.84
PROFIT BEFORE TAXATION	£75.9m	£56.8m	£131.3m
PROFIT ATTRIBUTABLE TO ORDINARY SHAREHOLDERS	£42.1m	£38.1m	£97.5m
EARNINGS PER 25p ORDINARY SHARE	17.8p	16.1p	32.0p
DIVIDEND PER 25p ORDINARY SHARE	3.6p	3.3p	8.5p

Over the past three years we have made excellent progress towards the merger of our two banks which we hope will take effect on 30 September this year. In addition we have

- achieved a major increase in our customer base
- acquired the Charterhouse Group
- launched a car insurance service

We are confident that the earnings of the new Royal Bank of Scotland should continue to improve in the future.

Michael Herries
Chairman

The Royal Bank of Scotland plc Williams & Glyn's Bank plc

ANNOUNCEMENT

It has come to our notice that unsolicited invitations to invest in a Canadian company named "ICI Industrial Minerals Limited" are being distributed in the UK by a firm known as "B.A. Investment Advisory Services", of Amsterdam, Holland.

We wish to make it known that "ICI Industrial Minerals Limited" has no connection whatsoever with Imperial Chemical Industries PLC or any of its subsidiaries.

S. G. F. INC
Imperial Chemical Industries PLC
Mabank, London SW1P 3AF

WE'RE THE POWER BEHIND THE SMALLER BUSINESS.

These smaller businesses all have one thing
in common.

They're going places. Some quickly. Some
not quite so quickly.

But they're all going places. With a little bit
of help from us at 3i.

We've always had time and money for the
man who has the acumen and ambition to build
a successful business.

He is the kind of man who is prepared to
stand or fall by his own judgement. Because
he believes in his ability.

And we have more experience in recognising
the ability of entrepreneurs than anyone else.

Words? No, action.

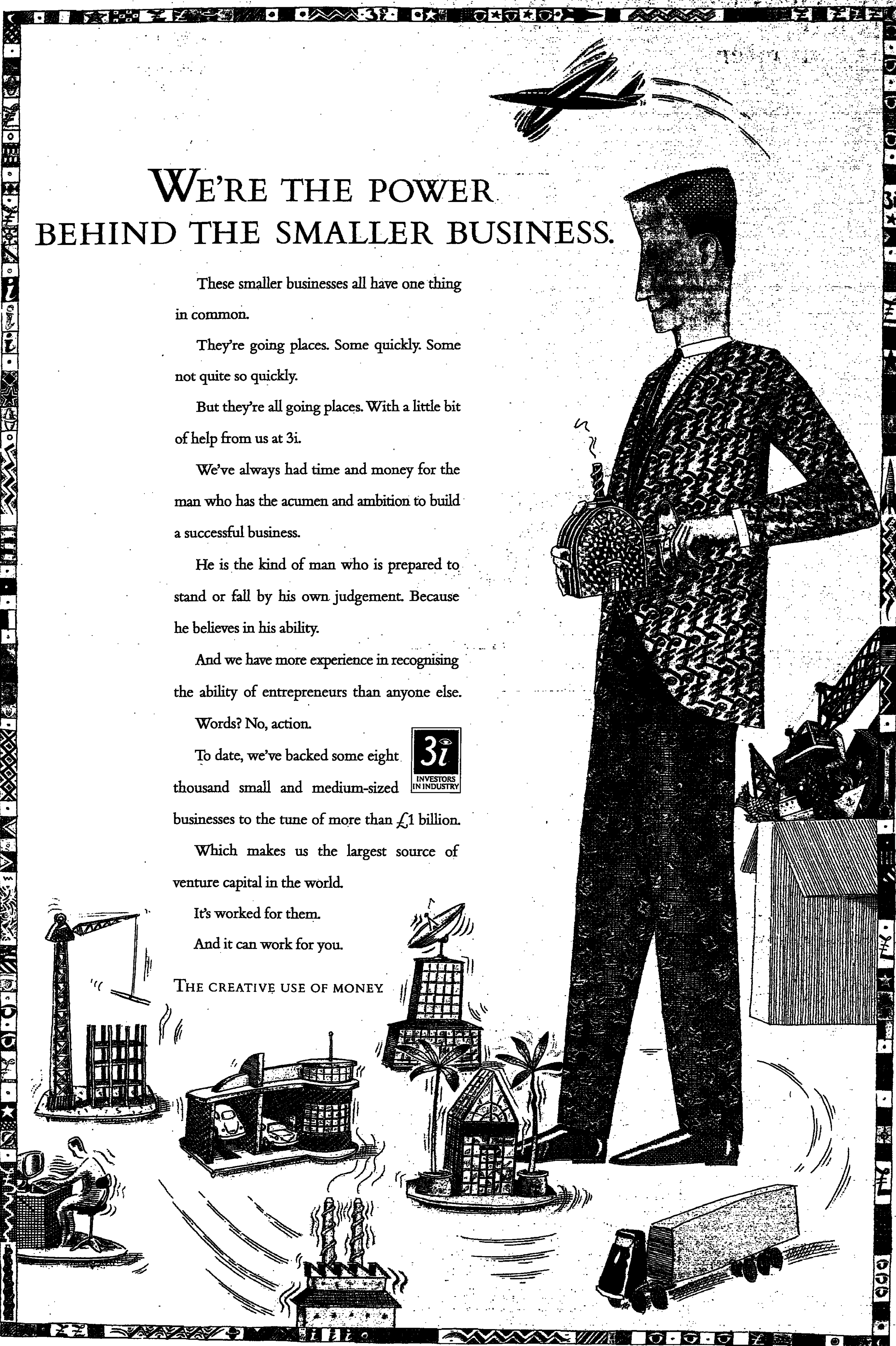
To date, we've backed some eight
thousand small and medium-sized
businesses to the tune of more than £1 billion.

Which makes us the largest source of
venture capital in the world.

It's worked for them.

And it can work for you.

THE CREATIVE USE OF MONEY



Britain may join Japan on new computer

By Peter Large, Technology Correspondent

An official British delegation is to spend next week in Tokyo beginning negotiations which could lead to an Anglo-Japanese partnership — inevitably aimed against the United States — in a crucial area of 1990s technology.

They will be discussing a Japanese request for the two nations to join in developing the fifth generation of computers.

The aim of the competing fifth generation research in the US, Japan, and Britain is to create computers not merely hundreds of times more powerful than today's but capable of coping with human-style reasoning.

The Japanese hope is that Britain will supply the software — Japan's weak point — while the Japanese researchers concentrate on the hardware design.

Mr Brian Oakley, director of Britain's fifth generation programme, the Government's £250 million Alvey project, was cautious yesterday about the prospects.

He emphasised that the possibility of collaboration depended on solid agreement being reached on how to share the results.

The talks will not be top level at this stage. The UK Government side is led by Mr Roger Hird, the Alvey project's administration director, and the industrial side by Mr Derek McLaughlin, ICL's head of group technical strategy.

Other firms represented include British Telecom, Thorn EMI, and the software company SDL. But Britain's biggest electronics groups, GEC

and Plessey, are not included. Mr Derek Roberts, GEC's technical director, said yesterday that GEC was all for free exchange of scientific research, "but this sort of thing I don't call partnership." He thought it could only result in British software being used to sell Japanese products. The talks will involve not only the Japanese Ministry of MITI, but all the big six Japanese technology firms as well.

If the talks did eventually lead to solid agreement, the political implications would, of course, be deep. Even just on the commercial front, as Mr Hird said yesterday, "if anyone is to be a victim of this sort of deal, it would be IBM, though that's not our fault." (The UK subsidiary of IBM is included in Alvey work).

At least it is clear that the Japanese are keen. Long before the Japanese government's official fifth generation programme was launched in April 1982, they had been seeking access to Britain's software expertise. Once the Alvey project began, they asked again, but saying that they only wanted to talk to British academics, not British firms.

They claimed that their research project is not commercially based, whereas the Alvey programme depends on close collaboration between consortia of firms and university research teams.

Therefore, they have made a concession in accepting a response to their invitation that is based on the Government's official Alvey team. And to re-emphasise that point, the British delegation includes no academics.

Fowler will sweeten the pill for doctors

James Erlichman on government's volte face on banned drugs

THE drugs industry in Britain cannot quite believe its luck and is unable to decide this week whether first, to kiss a few influential doctors or to caress its own wallet.

Only a month after its noisy public conception, the limited list banning more than 2,000 drugs from NHS prescription, may prove stillborn.

The Health Secretary, Mr Norman Fowler, who so recently championed the limited list as a model of efficiency and economy is now offering doctors the backdoor chance to prescribe any banned drugs they like. The appeals procedure they must follow is so hassle-free that it looks positively designed to encourage doctors to return to their old prescribing habits.

A GP needs now only to decide in his own mind that a banned drug is best for a patient, write out a NHS prescription, and explain his decision, in the briefest terms, after the event. Sitting in judgment upon his prescribing habits will be a local committee of his own peers (four GPs and two hospital doctors).

This panel, which will be chosen by doctors themselves, will have no obligation to explain or even communicate their judgment to Mr Fowler's men at the ministry. All will be done behind the closed doors of the consulting room.

What incentive will these men have to challenge the prescribing habits of one of

their friends," said one London consultant. "Even the hospital doctors on the committee, who might support the limited list, will be mindful that they rely on the GPs they judge for future patient referrals."

Powerful lobbying pressure from the medical profession alone explains the discreet, but near complete, volte face of Mr Fowler. The powerful drug industry, in this case, had been impotent. The vitriolic advertising campaign it waged against the limited list only enraged the govern-

ment. What the drug industry failed to achieve with its blunderbuss techniques, the doctors have quietly done with a scalpel.

This explains why the drugs industry has adopted a frozen pose of gleeful but profound silence since the appeals procedure was offered to the doctors.

Privately, the drug companies believe a substantial portion of the £75 million they expected to lose in sales can now be clawed back if doctors are gently urged to write blacklisted prescriptions. Any public glowing, however, would encourage Mr Fowler to retaliate on other fronts.

It would also raise the

hazards of prescribing doctors, who generate 80 per cent of the industry's £1.6 billion sales, but mistrust its profit motive. Drug industry reps, who knock on surgery doors, will have to be coached toward subtle ways of convincing GPs to ignore the limited list in the interests of their patients.

The government has been forced to climb down because its motives for introducing the limited list were always flawed.

More likely to benefit are companies like the US firms, Upjohn and Wyeth, whose banned tranquillisers do, in the eyes of some GPs, have genuine if slight advantages over the generic drugs on the Department of Health's approved list.

One drug company admitted that Mr Fowler's concessions had put the industry into a real profit-crunching quandary. Since the limited list came into force on April 1 many companies have slashed the price, and launched advertising campaigns to promote the sale of banned over-the-counter products directly to the customer.

The real power of the doctors' lobby in forcing Mr Fowler to back down is still something of a mystery. The



Mr Norman Fowler: a backward step

British Medical Association successfully organised backbench Tory MPs who threatened a revolt against the limited list. And we now know that their protest was defused after the BMA got Mr Fowler, in confidential meetings late in March, to make his promise of an appeals procedure.

The BMA also threatened to drag Mr Fowler and the DHSS through the courts, arguing that a judicial review would prove that the very idea of a limited list was illegal. Squeezed between the two senior professions, Mr Fowler probably thought it prudent to take a backward step. Or you could say that even ministers, with trousers down and told to cough, can be made to listen.

UK falls behind in banking league

By Peter Rodgers, City Editor

British banks' share of the international banking business is only fourth in the international league table, behind the US, Japan and even France, in spite of London's position as the biggest banking centre. The British banks' share also declined last year and on one method of counting Japan is now the biggest international bank lender after aggressively grabbing market share.

Figures published today by the Bank for International Settlements for the first time give a detailed breakdown of international banking markets by country of ownership of the banks concerned. Previous analyses have shown that London is the biggest international banking centre with a quarter of the entire worldwide business. But a large part of this is done by offshoots of foreign banks.

The figures also show that Japanese banks rapidly increased their share of business last year. Although the figures for bank lending put the US at the head of the parade, the Japanese may in fact have become the largest international bank lender. It deals between foreign affiliates of individual banks are excluded.

The BIS, the bank run by central banks, says that because of the large amount of business shown in the figures between subsidiaries of US banks and the parent Japanese international banks in December 1984 were "as large as, or slightly larger than, those of US banks."

But on the total lending figures, the US has \$815 billion

or 28 per cent of the business. Japan has 23.5 per cent, French banks have 9 per cent and German banks have 6.5 per cent.

Swiss banks have only 3.4 per cent but this excludes a large amount of trustee business which it counted in the figures. They would probably give them same size business as the UK banks, which had \$161 billion of international loans outstanding at the end of December.

This was a drop of nearly \$10 billion from a year earlier. Unlike the American banks, 80 per cent of whose loans were to affiliates, only 12 per cent of UK bank loans were to "related offices," says the BIS.

The most intriguing aspect of the figures is the way that Japanese banks have raised their market share in international banking. For all the world as if they were attacking the car or video recorder markets, Japanese banks raised their international lending \$63 billion to almost \$514 billion while US banks' market share fell over \$16 billion, mainly because of the crisis over Continental Illinois. Japan was particularly prominent in raising its loans to governments and to "non-bank" institutions, which includes companies.

The BIS says that US and on a scale Swiss banks were able to attract simple deposits from outside the banking system, more than they wished to re-lend to final borrowers. They therefore used the money to finance banks of other nationalities on the loan market, which re-lent the money to final users.

Exhibition centre boost

By Michael Smith, Industrial Editor

New plans have been unveiled to double the size of the National Exhibition Centre in Birmingham at a cost of about £100 million over the next two decades.

The centre, which covers 125,000 square yards of floor space for national and international exhibitions, generates about £60 million a year in revenue and supports almost 3,000 jobs in the blighted West Midlands.

The NEC's chief executive, Terry Gilling, said yesterday that he expected a further 4,000 jobs to be created over the next 20 years if the scheme to double the site went ahead. The proposals being approved by the NEC directors would add a further 125,000 square yards.

Outline planning has already been sought for the first phase of the development and it is hoped that the additional space will be available in 1988.

The NEC is pushing ahead with its large-scale expansion plans following an independent report forecasting "regular pressure" for space in the coming years and steady growth in demand for exhibition space.

The report, by PA Management Consultants, recommended "urgent action" be taken when the NEC is due to face an unprecedented sequence of major international trade fairs including the motor show.

The proposed expansion of the NEC also follows a record-breaking year for the organisation, which earned a best-ever operating profit of \$9.3 million in 1984. The centre staged more exhibitions than ever before.

Shares unfrozen

By Geoffrey Gibbs

The Scottish courts yesterday agreed to lift restrictions on a block of two million House of Fraser shares enabling the holders to accept the 400p-a-share cash offer being made by the Egyptian Al Fayed brothers.

The court decision came as the Al Fayed brothers disclosed that their £615 million takeover offer had received sufficient levels of acceptance to enable them to acquire all outstanding shares in the company compulsorily.

The 1.8 per cent stake held by German bankers, R. Daus and Co., was frozen by the Scottish courts in 1982 after Fraser complained that it was unable to discover the ultimate ownership of the holding. The order prevented transfer of the shares and froze voting rights and dividend payments on the stock.

Daus applied for the restrictions to be lifted after the Al Fayed brothers made their offer earlier this year. The removal of the restrictions will enable Daus to pocket £8 million by accepting the offer, and takes the Al Fayed brothers ever closer to full control of the Harrods department stores group.

FIRST QUARTER RESULTS FOR 1985

Royal Insurance

The results for the first quarter are set out below; these should not be taken as providing a reliable indication of the outcome for the year as a whole.

	3 months to 31 March 1985 (unaudited) £m	3 months to 31 March 1984 (unaudited) £m	Year 1984 (audited) £m
General Insurance:			
Premiums Written	712.5	523.4	2,268.4
Underwriting Balance	-139.9	-101.6	-347.4
Investment Income allocated to General Insurance operations	72.5	54.7	237.4
General Insurance Result ..	-67.4	-46.9	-110.0
Long-term Insurance Profit ..	5.9	4.9	20.7
Investment Income attributable to Capital and Reserves	21.9	18.0	87.2
Share of Associated Companies' Profits	2.3	3.6	13.3
Profit/Loss before Taxation ..	-37.3	-20.4	11.2
Less Taxation	11.3	1.3	17.6
	(credit)	(credit)	
Minority Interests	-0.2	0.0	-0.4
Net Loss	-25.8	-19.1	-6.0
Earnings per share — See Note ..	10.9p (loss)	8.0p (loss)	2.5p (loss)
Capital and Reserves	£1,760m	£1,604m	£1,830m

Note: Earnings per share have been adjusted for the one for four scrip issue made in June 1984.

EXCHANGE RATES

Foreign currencies have been translated according to our normal practice at approximately the average rates of exchange ruling during the period. The principal rates were:—

USA	\$1.11	\$1.44	\$1.33
Canada	\$1.50	\$1.80	\$1.73
Australia	\$1.48	\$1.54	\$1.52
Netherlands	Fls4.09	Fls4.38	Fls4.27

The pre-tax result has been adversely affected by £6.3m due to changes in exchange rates; the underwriting balance being worsened by £20.2m, with investment income and Associated Companies benefiting by £13.9m.

INVESTMENT INCOME

Total investment income of £94.4m increased in sterling terms by 29.6%; allowing for the changes in rates of exchange the growth was almost 11%.

GENERAL INSURANCE

Premium income rose by 36.1% in sterling; allowing for the effect of currency changes, the increase was 18%. Details for the individual operating companies are as follows:—

In the United States the statutory operating ratio after policyholders dividends was 123.1%, down from 128.0% for the first quarter last year. There was a premium volume increase of 23% in commercial lines reflecting the continuation of our firm pricing action helped by the general hardening in that sector of the market. The result in personal lines showed further improvement. Total dollar premium income increased by 18% (13.4% excluding Silvery Corporation).

Premium volume increased by 13.1% in the UK. The winter weather conditions produced a high level of claims on the property accounts costing an estimated £31m, a similar figure to that of the same period last year. The sharp increase in motor claims frequency apparent in the final quarter of 1984 continued, in part reflecting the weather conditions.

In Canada the modest improvement in the commercial lines business was more than offset by a substantial deterioration in the personal automobile line resulting from continued premium inadequacy combined with adverse changes in the legal environment. Premium growth in local terms of 15.2% was largely accounted for by the rate increases on commercial lines business.

The result for Royal Australia was impacted by the storm and bush-fire losses in January and a number of large fire claims. Most classes continue to show strong premium growth, particularly commercial lines.

The deterioration in experience in Western Europe and losses arising from the Chilean earthquake were largely responsible for the worsening in the Royal International result. Total premium growth in local terms was 29.2% (16.8% excluding Velazquez SA.)

Poor experience in the motor account and an increase in the number of large fire losses affected the result for Royal Nederland. Premium income rose by over 10% in local currency terms.

The adverse experience for Royal Re reflected the continuing difficulties in worldwide reinsurance markets.

ROYAL LIFE INSURANCE

New single premium business in the first quarter of 1985 increased by 28% to £29.4m largely due to higher sales of unit-linked business. New annual premiums were £14.3m, somewhat lower than the first quarter of 1984, which was boosted by a surge of pre-budget business. Individual pension business in the UK, influenced by the possibility of change in the taxation treatment of pensions, was extremely buoyant. The long-term insurance profit increased from £4.9m to £5.9m.

Royal Insurance plc,
Group Head Office,
1 Cornhill, London EC3V 3QR.

	3 months to 31st March 1985					3 months to 31st March 1984				
	Premiums Written £m	Under-Writing Balance £m	Allocated Investment Income £m	General Insurance Result £m	Inv. Inc. on Capital & Reserves £m	Pre-tax Profit £m	Premiums Written £m	Under-Writing Balance £m	Allocated Investment Income £m	General Insurance Result £m
Royal USA	315.4	-72.4	37.5	-34.9	7.6	-27.3	206.1	-60.2	26.7	-33.5
Royal UK	179.1	-30.5	15.7	-14.8	3.6	-11.2	158.3	-25.5	14.2	-11.3
Royal Canada	63.8	-17.0	9.2	-7.8	2.3	-5.5	46.2	-9.1	6.8	-2.3
Royal Australia	54.2	-7.2	4.5	-2.7	1.6	-1.1	34.5	1.1	2.6	3.7
Royal International	47.9	-5.0	2.5	-2.5	1.3	-0.3*	34.3	-2.8	1.8	-1.0
Royal Nederland	28.7	-2.9	1.5	-1.4	0.4	-1.0	24.2	-1.4	1.5	0.1
Royal Re	23.4	-4.9	1.6	-3.3	0.7	-2.6	19.8	-3.7	1.1	-2.6
	712.5	-139.9	72.5	-67.4	17.5	-49.0	523.4	-101.6	54.7	-46.9

* The pre-tax profit figures for Royal International include the contribution from their Associated Companies of £0.9m in the first three months of 1985 and £0.8m in the same period of 1984.

BBC-1

6.00 am Ceefax AM. 6.30 Breakfast Time. 9.20 Pages from Ceefax. 10.30 Play School. 10.50 Pages from Ceefax. 1.00 pm News Afternoon. 1.27 Regional News. 1.30 Hickey Cokey. 1.45 Pages from Ceefax. 3.33 Regional News (except London and Scotland). 3.55 Whizz. 4.10 The Little Hobo. 4.35 Secrets Out!!! 5.0 The Baker Street Boys. 5.30 Friday People.

6.0 NEWS: weather news.

6.35 REGIONAL NEWS MAGAZINES.

7.0 WOGAN.

7.40 DON'T WAIT UP. Nigel Havers, Tony Britton lead the repeated father-and-son sitcom as the divorced CP and his divorcing parent, the latter not proving the easiest of guests. Ceefax sub-titles.

8.10 COVER UP. Another preposterous assignment for the photographic trouble-shooting team (Jennifer O'Neill, Jon-Erik Hexum) now off to Rome to rescue a pair of innocent pensioners from the hands of ruthless jewel smugglers. Nephew Beery, familiar to Rockford fans as Jim's Dad, is the old man. Ceefax sub-titles.

9.0 NEWS: weather news.

9.25 THE DETECTIVE. 1. After a week devoted to nostalgic recollections of a nation united after adversity and looking forward to a better future, the new drama serial brings us back to a chilling present, set as it is in a stylised present of violent divisions in society and erosion of civil liberties. Adapted by Ted Whitehead from Paul Ferris's novel, it casts Tom Bell as the honest top cop Crocker, Scotland Yard commander in charge of Special Intelligence, and a man whose unflinching integrity leads him, via a surveillance operation on a union leader, into a lone fight against political corruption. A fine cast also includes Victoria Fairbrother, Mark Eden, Vivienne Ritchie. Ceefax sub-titles.

10.15 OMNIBUS: Leonard Bernstein's West Side Story. The American maestro wrote his famous musical in 1957, but he had never conducted the full score until last autumn, when he collaborated on a new recording of the work using "because they don't have to look 16 or be able to dance" — some of the leading opera singers, like Dame Kiri Te Kanawa and Jose Carreras in the roles of the youthful protagonists. Tonight's film sits in on five hectic days of rehearsal and recording.

11.45 SIDECAR RACERS. Ben Murphy, John Clayton play the circuit partners whose success is threatened by their interest in the same girl, in predictable Aussie drama, made in 1974 by Earl Bellamy. 1.25 Weather; close.

BBC-2

6.55-7.25 am Open University. 9.0 Pages from Ceefax. 9.30 Daytime on 2: Subtitle Slot: Science Workshop. 9.52 Sex Education. 10.15 Child Care and Parenthood. 10.40 Mindstretchers — Solutions. 10.45 Pages from Ceefax. 11.22 Computer Club. 11.44 Politics and You. 12.5 pm Will Tomorrow Work? 12.30 Pages from Ceefax. 1.38 Office Studies; 2.0 Scene; 2.30 English File. 2.50 Pages from Ceefax.

5.10 NEWS with sub-titles; weather.

5.15 MONKEY.

6.0 TARZAN AND THE MERMAIDS. The jungle lord engages in underwater combat on behalf of aquatic lovely (Linda Christian) who faces a fate worse than sacrifice to tribal gods, in 1948 yarn, last to feature Johnny Weissmuller as Big T.

7.5 CARTOON TWO: Manoeuvres.

7.15 THE GREAT EGG RACE: A crafty task for this week's three teams: to navigate a shipwrecked car in converted vessels. Converted from motor cars.

7.45 THE WORLD ABOUT US: The Hunting Party. How does modern survival training match up to an inherited ability to manage in the wild? This fascinating film features a tough cross-country race between Australian SAS Army Reserves armed with full orienteering and survival kit, and a band of Aborigines depending on their spears and the bush lore of their people.

8.35 GARDENERS' WORLD from Barnsley. Where the greenhouse tomatoes are going in, the lawn is getting a facelift, and there's a demo of a simple amateur hydroponic unit.

9.0 ONE MAN AND HIS DOG. Hoot 1: England. BBC-2's popular sheepdog journey returns for a ninth series, introduced as ever by Phil Drabble, and coming this season from the Duke of Devonshire's estate at Chatsworth.

9.45 THE PAPER CHASE. Return of the hit US Law School series, with John Houseman as the autocratic and awe-inspiring Professor Kingsfield. James Stephens as his star pupil, now being chatted up by short-cut-seeking freshmen, and sharing a flat with fellow student Franklin Ford III (Tim Fitzsimmons).

10.40 NEWSNIGHT. 11.25 Weatherview.

11.30 BOLWIESER. Rainer Werner Fassbinder's study of love, infidelity, and bourgeois hypocrisy, made in 1977, with Kurt Raab as the self-important, small-town Bavarian station-master with an unfaithful young wife, who commits perjury rather than acknowledge her behaviour. Elisabeth Trissenaar is Frau Bolwieser. 1.25 Close.

ITV London

6.15 am Good Morning Britain. 9.25 Headlines: Schools. 9.30 Place to Live. 9.50 History Around You. 10.9 Ways with Words. 10.26 Manticore. 10.48 Insight. 11.5 My World. 12.22 Middle English. 11.3 Documentary Re-run. 12.0 Jamie and the Magic Torch. 12.10 pm Rainbow. Oracle sub-titles. 12.30 By the Way. 1.0 News. 1.28 Thames News. 1.30 Film: Voices. 1973 ghost story with David Hemmings, Gayle Hunnicutt. 3.0 Gems. 3.25 News Headlines. 3.30 Sons and Daughters. 4.0 Rainbow. Oracle sub-titles. 4.20 Crystal Tipps and Alistair. 4.25 Emma's All Live Pink Windmill Show. 5.15 Connections.

5.45 NEWS; weather.

6.0 THE 6 O'CLOCK SHOW with Gloria Hunniford and the team.

7.0 THE PRACTICE. More drama with the health centre staff and patients, as dipso Dr Biddy faces the end of his career, and poor Kevin faces the unkindest cut of all, all over again. Oracle sub-titles.

7.30 FAMILY FORTUNES. Max Bygraves with the cash quiz for funfolk.

8.0 A FINE ROMANCE. Continuing the repeat of Bob Larbey's romantic training match up to an inherited ability to manage in the wild? This fascinating film features a tough cross-country race between Australian SAS Army Reserves armed with full orienteering and survival kit, and a band of Aborigines depending on their spears and the bush lore of their people.

8.30 HOME TO ROOST. Suspect John Thaw as the sitcom father having ever more problems with his son the lodger, especially now that his neighbour's lovely lady is home to underline the awfulness of his own offspring. Oracle sub-titles.

9.0 C.A.T.S. EYES. Something Nast Down Below. Fred (Leslie Ash) to the fore in this week's instalment of the undercover crime thriller. Jill Gascoine, Rosalyn Landor her partners. Oracle sub-titles.

10.0 NEWS AT TEN; weather. London news headlines.

10.30 THE LONDON PROGRAMME. Squandering The Tourist Boom. How Philip the good had experiences of Gorge and Naomi Diamond? The London Programme joins the New York couple on their first visit to London to look at the poor hotels, badly-organised tours and such, through their eyes.

11.0 SHOOT POOL! Jim Rosenthal reports on the first semi-final of the London Pool Championship.

12.0 ASYLUM. Peter Cushing, Herbert Lom, Britt Ekland, and Charlotte Rampling are some of the familiar faces in 1972 horror anthology, directed by Roy Ward Baker.

1.30 NIGHT THOUGHTS with Katharine Whitehorn. Close.

Channel 4

2.15 pm Their Lordships' House. 2.30 Master Bridge. 3.0 Along the Old Man River. 4.0 Footie's Blues. 4.30 Isaura the Slave Girl; Fantastico.

5.30 FRIDAY ZONE. Another mixed musical bag, with Phil Lynott and Gary Moore guesting in the heavy metal slot E.C.T., more images and sounds in Paintbox, and Marvin Gaye and the Jackson Five pulled out of the archives for Soul Train (6.20).

7.0 CHANNEL FOUR NEWS; weather.

7.30 RIGHT TO REPLY. Should the porn be cut from the pop videos featured in Max Headroom?

8.0 WHAT THE PAPERS SAY presented by Derek Jameson.

8.15 A WEEK IN POLITICS reports on the teachers' strikes; and on Tory reactions to Mrs Thatcher's Perth speech.

9.0 THE COBBY SHOW: Rudy's Sick. More imported comedy with the Rudekies as father Cliff (Bill Cooby) has to do what any working mother takes in her stride, and cope with problems at work and a sick child at home.

9.30 THE GREAT PLANT COLLECTION. 2. Bodnant Gardens, North Wales. Roy Lancaster visits a garden famed for its rhododendrons and as the home of a shrub that features in many a humbler plot.

10.0 CHEERS: Heart Of A Lonely Sniper. More fun with the Boston bar crowd.

10.30 RECLAIMING THE EARTH. Latest contribution to the Worldwide season is a documentary setting out to show how much the fate of mankind, and not just the environment, is involved in ecological issues. Focusing on Kenya, it examines the relationship between environmental problems and the patterns of development — many of them begun in the seventies but already obsolete — in the continent of Africa as a whole.

11.30 THE GREAT ROCK 'N' ROLL SWINDLE. Julien Temple's bizarre, anarchic punk movie uses a blend of fact, fiction and fantasy to chart the rise and fall of seventies pop group The Sex Pistols — and the cynical media manipulation by their Svengali, Malcolm McLaren, which brought the foul mouthed bunch overnight fame. 1.25 Close.

SAC: 1.0 pm Isaura the Slave Girl; Fantastico. 2.0 Short Story. 2.15 Their Lordships' House. 2.30 Ekwyl. 2.45 Hya or Fyd. 2.55 Ekwyl. 3.0 Film: On Night of Love. 1994 Ekwyl. 3.15 Film: On Night of Love. 1994 Ekwyl. 3.30 Ekwyl. 3.45 Hya or Fyd. 3.55 Ekwyl. 4.0 Ekwyl. 4.15 Hya or Fyd. 4.25 Ekwyl. 4.35 Hya or Fyd. 4.45 Ekwyl. 4.55 Hya or Fyd. 5.05 Ekwyl. 5.15 Hya or Fyd. 5.25 Ekwyl. 5.35 Hya or Fyd. 5.45 Ekwyl. 5.55 Hya or Fyd. 6.05 Ekwyl. 6.15 Hya or Fyd. 6.25 Ekwyl. 6.35 Hya or Fyd. 6.45 Ekwyl. 6.55 Hya or Fyd. 7.05 Ekwyl. 7.15 Hya or Fyd. 7.25 Ekwyl. 7.35 Hya or Fyd. 7.45 Ekwyl. 7.55 Hya or Fyd. 8.05 Ekwyl. 8.15 Hya or Fyd. 8.25 Ekwyl. 8.35 Hya or Fyd. 8.45 Ekwyl. 8.55 Hya or Fyd. 9.05 Ekwyl. 9.15 Hya or Fyd. 9.25 Ekwyl. 9.35 Hya or Fyd. 9.45 Ekwyl. 9.55 Hya or Fyd. 10.05 Ekwyl. 10.15 Hya or Fyd. 10.25 Ekwyl. 10.35 Hya or Fyd. 10.45 Ekwyl. 10.55 Hya or Fyd. 11.05 Ekwyl. 11.15 Hya or Fyd. 11.25 Ekwyl. 11.35 Hya or Fyd. 11.45 Ekwyl. 11.55 Hya or Fyd. 12.05 Ekwyl. 12.15 Hya or Fyd. 12.25 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Government backs away from

Treasury proposals

Shake-up for nationalised industries off

By Michael Smith, Industrial Editor

The Government has backed down from seeking sweeping new parliamentary powers to control Britain's nationalised industries.

Mr Peter Rees, chief secretary to the Treasury, told the Commons yesterday that the Government had dropped plans to seek new legislation for the nationalised industries in the 1983-84 parliamentary session.

The Treasury's controversial proposal to tighten its control over running of the nationalised industries was regarded as a good candidate for inclusion in the Queen's Speech this autumn after the Treasury began consultative talks last year.

However, the plan appears to have been thwarted by new moves to privatise British steel. This will be a substantial piece of government legislation requiring considerable parliamentary time.

The proposal of the nationalised industries have met with fierce opposition from virtually every quarter because of fears that the bill would concentrate too much power in the Treasury's hands.

Several senior Cabinet ministers are known to be strenuously opposed to the proposals,

which were outlined in a consultative document issued by the Treasury only hours before the Commons Christmas recess. The proposals have also been criticised by the nationalised industries and by consumer watchdog groups.

Mr Rees adopted the proposals which would represent the most radical shake-up of the nationalised industries since the time when many undertakings were taken into public ownership at the war.

The proposals would permit the Treasury to set stringent new targets for the corporations, increasing fees among consumer lobbies, and the nationalised industries. The plan would also make it easier for ministers to sack industry chiefs.

Mr Rees has indicated yesterday whether the Government has abandoned the proposals altogether. He said that discussions with the nationalised industries were continuing.

Representatives from the industries are expected to meet Mr Rees early next week as part of the continuing dialogue between the Treasury and the public corporations.

Government to hold fire on GCHQ rebels

By Richard Norton-Taylor

The Government is likely to hold off taking disciplinary action against going officials who have rejoined their union in defiance of the ban on membership, at least for the time being.

This emerged last night after 11 hours of talks between Civil Service union leaders and Sir Robert Armstrong, Cabinet secretary and head of the Home Civil Service, in Whitehall.

They agreed to consider a number of compromise proposals: one would be for those who rejoined their union to repay the £1,000 they received after they gave up membership last year. About nine GCHQ officials are affected and have been told that they faced disciplinary action.

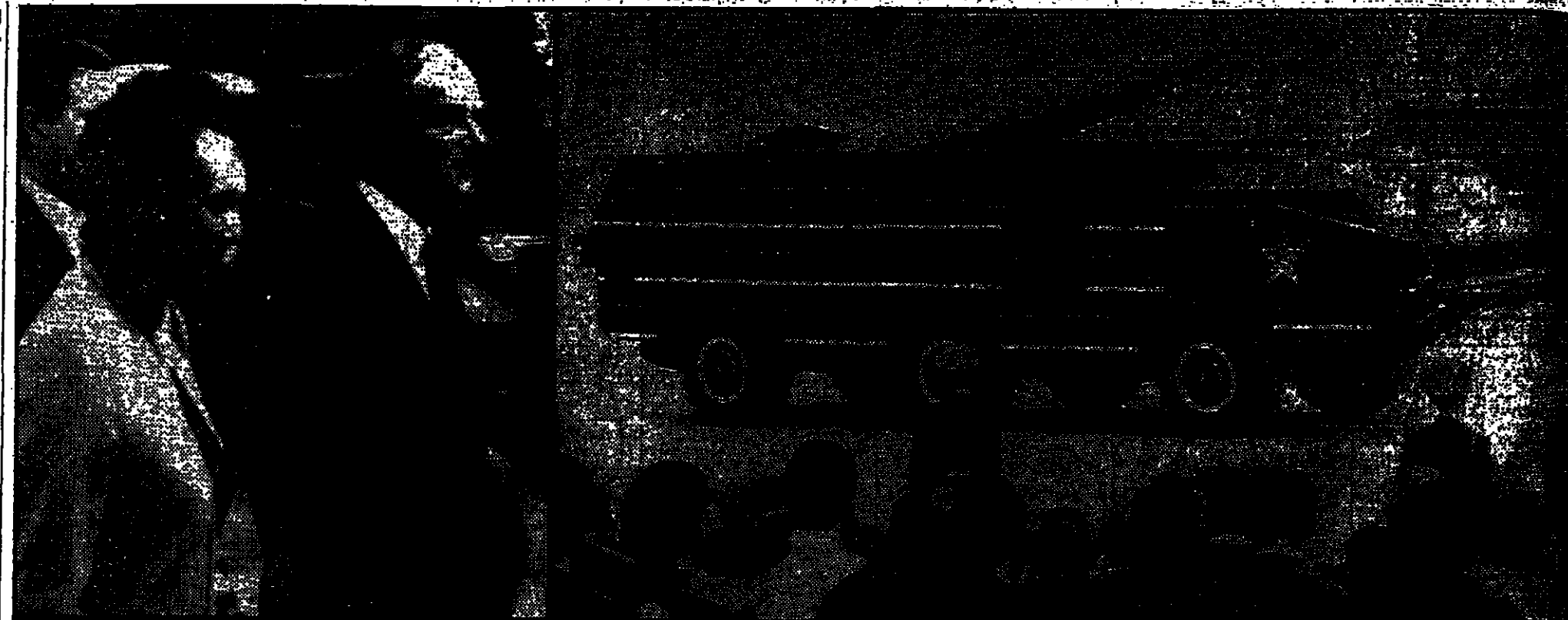
Mr Peter Jones, secretary of the Council of Civil Service

Unions, said last night that he had nothing to happen until a further meeting with Sir Robert, probably in a few weeks' time.

Civil Service union leaders yesterday filed their case against the ban with the European Commission for Human Rights.

The unions have instructed their lawyers to attempt to negotiate an agreement with the Government to maintain the status quo at GCHQ — where about 100 staff are still members of unions while the commission considers their application.

The International Labour Organisation yesterday urged the Government to reconsider the ban, which an ILO committee said contravened a convention on workers' freedom of association and right to organise.



Sir Iain Sutherland, British ambassador to Moscow, and Lady Sutherland watch the parade in Red Square yesterday when armaments on view included an SS-20 missile.

Stonehenge ready for head-on clash

By Martin Wainwright

THE ANCIENT ritual of the irresistible force and the immovable object seems certain to be enacted at Stonehenge in three weeks' time, barring an unexpected compromise between organisers of the free festival and the National Trust.

The grandly-named groups which organise the festival have embarked on a publicity campaign to counter the Trust's 'Keep Away' advertisements.

Summons have gone out to members of the Polytechnic Circle, the Tigran Ukrainian Family and the Church of the Immaculate Conception — which notoriously requires a whole lunar month to enact its rituals.

"The so-called custodians of stonehenge should realise that what they call a 'pop festival' is in fact a legitimate gathering, a ritual held by those who sincerely believe that there is a very special feeling to be attained there because of the magical situation," says the circle, a national society of anonymous members.

Over 150,000 stickers are being distributed to urge people to join the festival, which would be the 18th annual gathering near the henge. The organisers base their claim to legitimacy on the fact that the courts have granted the National Trust an injunction forbidding attendance against only 85 named individuals.

The trust is determined that no one will camp on the 1,400 acres of land it owns around Stonehenge. The civil law against trespasses will be invoked.

Mr Warren Davies of the Trust said that it was essential to prevent any repetition of the damage to prehistoric sites which occurred in previous years when up to 30,000 people attended the festival.

English Heritage, the ancient monuments commission which owns Stonehenge, has barred the traditional Druid solstice ceremony and surrounded the henge with barbed wire.

The commission's chairman, Lord Mervyn Davies, is known to be keen to encourage orderly rituals at Stonehenge and regards the festival as the greatest obstacle to allowing them.

"There is every difference between a ceremony lasting one night and six weeks long camp site on one of Europe's most important archaeological sites," said Mr Davies.

Tighter checks ordered on MI5

Continued from page one

East Germans would look after me better."

In 1983 he delivered two letters containing secret information to a Soviet Embassy official who, he believed, was a senior officer of the KGB. When there was no response he continued collecting secret information at his home and was eventually uncovered. Last year he was sentenced to 23 years' imprisonment for offences under the Official Secrets Act.

There was surprise in the Commons when Mrs Thatcher stressed that Bettaney's attempts to get himself recruited as an agent of the Russian Intelligence service had not been successful.

Mr Kinnock said: "No man could have tried harder than Bettaney to get himself recruited to the Russian secret service. His fortune in incompetence is not sufficient to reassure about the general condition of our services."

He accused Mrs Thatcher of complacency, and said her response was "not good enough". He alleged the Bettaney case was only the latest in a series of incidents which had shown the security services were not as proficient as they should be, but Mrs Thatcher insisted there were no criticisms in the report of operational efficiency.

However, Mrs Thatcher appeared ready to consider a suggestion put to her by the chairman of the Commons Home Affairs Select Committee, Sir Edward Gardner, a senior Tory backbencher, with the support of the former Labour Home Secretary, Mr Mervyn Rees for an ombudsman to deal with internal complaints.

The leader of the SDP, Dr David Owen, said he supported the ombudsman proposal and suggested a parliamentary committee to oversee the security services. The Conservative chairman of the Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee, Sir Anthony Kershaw, demanded a permanent inspectorate.

Mrs Thatcher firmly ruled out parliamentary involvement in the security services. She said: "I believe we should continue to enable the security services to run in a secret way — after all, those against whom they operate have the same right to secrecy."

But this did not satisfy Mr Jonathan Aitken, the Tory MP for Thanet South, who said Mrs Thatcher and Cabinet ministers had promised the highest ministerial watch on the security services after the Bism affair but the Bettaney report indicated that it was not good enough.

Prospects for settlement dim as teaching unions pull out of meeting with Joseph

By Andrew Moncur

All the teachers' unions last night opted out of a meeting with Sir Keith Joseph — and missed his latest firm refusal of more cash to fund an improved pay offer.

The unions decided against a joint approach with the employers, who went ahead with their informal meeting with the Education Secretary in a search for a solution to the dispute which has caused disruption for thousands of children.

But Sir Keith repeated his long-held argument that there could be no chance of seeking extra money without agreement on salary structure reform.

The employers' had come seeking ways to increase the 4 per cent offer already rejected by the teachers. They asked about the possibility of adjusting their financial targets, penalties and grants in the interests of a negotiated settlement. Sir Keith's answer was blunt.

He repeated his position that the Government will not find more money without strings for local authorities to settle with the teachers. Cash for any deal above 4 per cent would have to come from local authority funds.

A Department of Education and Science spokesman said: "There was one set of circumstances in which he would be willing to go to his colleagues and ask for extra money: if the teachers and the employers were to reach an agreement which would be unambiguously good for children and affordable."

That was the position, qualified by his statement that he could not guarantee the response of his colleagues, that he made last July. Negotiations on 'structure' reform came to an abrupt end last December when the National Union of Teachers walked out of a salary-structure working party.

The prospects of a settlement at next week's meeting of the Burnham pay negotiating committee, headed by Sir John Worrie, independent chairman of the Burnham committee, said that he was still "cautiously optimistic".

Sir John, who chaired yesterday's informal talks between employers' and union leaders, said later: "There seems to exist a real determination to

endeavour to conclude a settlement."

Some teaching unions who initially wished to take up the invitation to meet Sir Keith, had attempted without success to persuade the NUT to change its mind. The NUT accused them of wasting time which should have been devoted to seeking progress for the Burnham talks.

Mr Doug McAvoy, deputy general secretary of the NUT, accused them of being "so tempted by the given prospects of tea and biscuits with Sir Keith" that they had not got on with the business of the day.

The second largest union, the National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers, had been eager to talk to Sir Keith. But it backed out in response, it said, to the view of the Association of Metropolitan Authorities, which sought to avert a split in union ranks.

Mr Nigel de Grey, deputy general secretary of the NAEU, said: "We were still keen to go but the AMA told us it would embarrass them if only sections of the teachers came. One can only be unpre-

cedentedly pessimistic about the future."

Mr Fred Smithies, the NASUWT general secretary, had earlier said that he believed it was the duty of the unions to take part in any approach that might lead to a settlement. "There is a very strong moral obligation on all of us to explore all possible avenues open to us to find a solution."

He regretted the NUT decision and said that he was pessimistic about the prospects of any constructive outcome next week. He said: "Unless there is a constructive outcome, it seems to me inevitable that the disruptive action will continue for all of this term and there is an increasingly strong likelihood that it will continue in September."

Mr David Hart, general secretary of the National Association of Head Teachers, said that there was no point in only two or three unions going to see Sir Keith on their own.

In the wake of the county council elections the teachers were now dealing with a lame duck authority, the Association of County Councils, and he could see no prospects of it offering a settlement that the teachers could accept.

Rates help promised

Continued from page one

are known to be concerned about what they see as its unfairness and the possibility of a split between "wet" and "dry" wings of the party. A compromise solution appears the most likely.

Mrs Thatcher will chair a ministerial meeting later this month to agree proposals for change.

Alan Travis writes: David Steel, the Liberal leader, and Mr Neil Kinnock, Labour leader, criticised Mrs Thatcher in the Commons yesterday for her failure to reform the rate system.

Mr Steel said that the tenth anniversary of her pledge to abolish the rating system had just passed and that no temporary relief would be a substitute for her redeeming that pledge.

Mr Kinnock demanded to know whether Mrs Thatcher, while engaged in a rates U-turn, was also going to give back to Scotland the £1,000 million taken away from its local authorities over the past five years.

Mrs Thatcher claimed that the domestic rate relief package had cancelled out the effects of revaluation and insisted that the high rate difficulties north of the border were due to high-spending Labour councils.

MP's death plunges Tories into tough byelection test in mid-Wales

By Martin Linton and Ian Aitken

The Government faces a difficult byelection at Brecon and Radnor in mid-Wales after the death of the constituency's Tory MP, Mr Tom Hooson, who died of cancer on Wednesday night at his London home after a long illness.

Mr Hooson won the seat in 1979 after a career in advertising and as the director of communications for the Conservative Central Office. He turned a Labour majority of 3,012 into a Tory majority of 3,027. The seat had been held by Labour for 40 years.

Boundary changes helped him to boost his majority to 8,784 in 1983 with his own vote at 18,255, Labour at 9,471 and Liberal at 9,226.

For the Labour Party it is the first byelection in seven in this parliament where it starts in second place and theoretically has a chance of taking the seat from the Government, but its margin over the Alliance is so narrow that there is bound to be a bitter fight for the tactical vote.

The Labour Party went out of its way last night to emphasise that it does not expect to hold of Ystradgynlais in the win the byelection. Although Labour has done well there in the past the party's business managers anticipated that the constituency had been radically changed by the Boundaries Commission.



Tom Hooson — ousted Labour

The commission sliced three heavily Labour wards off the Brecon constituency and added them to constituencies to the south.

The seat is one of the largest in the country, stretching from the spa towns of Buth and Wells in the north down to the Welsh-speaking Labour stronghold of Ystradgynlais in the south, and it is farming country, with sheep outnumbering the electors by at least 10 to one.

Until 1983 it included some of the mining communities at the head of the valleys from

Brynmawr to Cefn Coed, where the Labour vote was strongest.

Tributes to Mr Hooson yesterday were led by the Secretary for Wales, Mr Nicholas Edwards. Mr Hooson won the seat in 1979 at the same time as his cousin Elynor Hooson, now the Liberal peer Lord Hooson, was defeated in the neighbouring seat of Montgomery, but the Liberals have recovered much of their strength in mid-Wales and are holding the two neighbouring seats of Ceredigion and Montgomery.

The seat has not, however, been allocated between the Liberals and the SDP and the Tories have agreed to hold joint elections.

Labour was already in the process of selecting a candidate when Mr Hooson's death was announced. Possible candidates may include Dr Kim Howells, a research officer for the Welsh NIM, and the former Labour MP for the seat, Mr Ceryn Roderick.

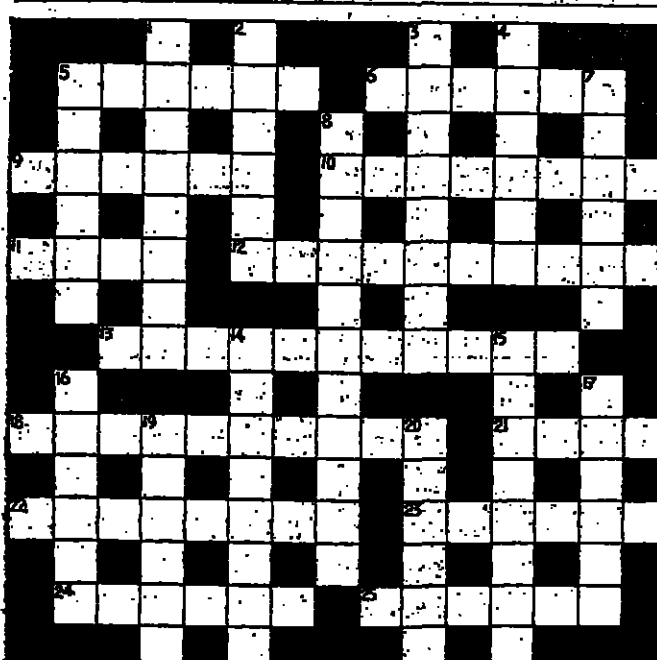
The constituency produced the most cliff-hanging result in electoral history in 1929 when the Tories' majority was just won 23 per cent of the vote. Labour won by 14,511 (53.7) over the Conservative with 14,324 (53.3) and the Liberal with 14,162 (53.0).

1983: C. Hooson (Lab) 18,255; E. Hooson (Lib) 9,226; D. Hooson (Con) 9,471.

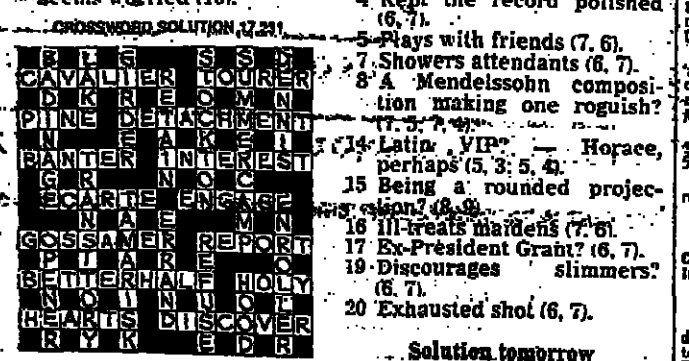
GUARDIAN CROSSWORD 17,232

APEX

13 letters (2 words) should really occur in the answers to the Down clues, the first in 1, the second in 2 and so on in the correct order up to the last letter; which should occur in 20. All these letters must be omitted when the answers are entered, and written out instead on the line below this introduction. Each clue consists of two definitions, one for the uncluttered answer, the other for the mutilated answer entered in the diagram; numbers in brackets indicate which is which. Example clue: "Close call (4, 5)". Answer: SE(0)UT. All Across clues are normal.



- ACROSS
- Playing two pieces of "Rigoletto" and "Aida" slowly (6).
 - About half of scores cut — it's the confusion (4).
 - Soft passage (4).
 - All about to come into existence (8).
 - Answer: played in 1979 (4).
 - One of the woods performing awfully and winning (3-7).
 - One out of tune in business (4).
 - Series of 1000 notes and seems worried (10).
- DOWN
- Presented by Apex — a Musical Test (4).
 - One provided keynote with the same tension (8).
 - Small anapest — it expects (6).
 - To sneeze for group disapproval (4).
 - Listener's attention held by celebrity mostly (6).
 - Desires pay (8, 8).
 - One who turns out the winner (7, 6).
 - Radio band to arrange signals (3, 4, 4).
 - Keep the record polished (6, 7).
 - Plays with friends (7, 6).
 - Showers attendants (6, 7).
 - A Mendelssohn composition making one roguish? (7, 7).
 - Latin VIP — Horace, perhaps (5, 3, 5, 4).
 - Being a rounded projection (6, 6).
 - III treats maidens (7, 6).
 - Ex-President Grant? (6, 7).
 - Discourages slimmers (6, 7).
 - Exhausted shot (6, 7).



THE WEATHER

Showers, some sun

A NORTHEASTERLY airstream covers the British Isles but a ridge of high pressure will build over western areas during the day.

London, 6 AM: E. breeze, 10-15 mph. Wind from E. to S. E. 10-15 mph. Wind from E. to S. E. 10-15 mph. Wind from E. to S. E. 10-15 mph.

SE and SW winds, 10-15 mph. Wind from E. to S. E. 10-15 mph. Wind from E. to S. E. 10-15 mph. Wind from E. to S. E. 10-15 mph.

Winds from E. to S. E. 10-15 mph. Wind from E. to S. E. 10-15 mph. Wind from E. to S. E. 10-15 mph. Wind from E. to S. E. 10-15 mph.

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Winds from E. to S. E. 10-15 mph. Wind from E. to S. E. 10-15 mph. Wind from E. to S. E. 10-15 mph. Wind from E. to S. E. 10-15 mph.

AROUND THE WORLD

LONDON-TIME REPORTS

London	12	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Edinburgh	10	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Birmingham	14	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Manchester	13	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Cardiff	11	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Belfast	9	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Exeter	15	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Sheffield	12	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Nottingham	14	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Leeds	13	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
York	14	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Doncaster	15	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Sheff Hallam	16	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Wakefield	15	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Bradford	14	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Leigh	15	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Oldham	16	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Rochdale	15	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Tameside	16	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Stockport	15	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Salford	16	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Wigan	15	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Bolton	16	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Chorley	15	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Preston	16	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Lancaster	15	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Carlisle	14	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Barrow	13	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Blackpool	14	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Morecambe	13	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Widnes	14	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Nelson	13	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Clitheroe	14	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Accrington	13	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Colne	14	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Wharfedale	13	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Harrogate	14	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Thirsk	13	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Doncaster	14	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
Sheff Hallam	15	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
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Preston	15	10-15	Partly cloudy	1015
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